

THE QUESTION OF SYRIAC INFLUENCE UPON EARLY ARABIC
TRANSLATIONS OF THE *APHORISMS* OF HIPPOCRATES

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SAMUEL C. BARRY

SCHOOL OF ARTS, LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

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An alphabetized version of Duval's Greek index to bar Bahlul's Syriac Lexicon

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Abstract

This thesis takes up the question of the part played by Syriac sources in the composition of early Arabic translations of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*. In it, I compare the four major extant Syriac and Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms* with continual reference to the content of Syriac lexicons composed by the translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and his students and successors. Through detailed treatments of both the definitions and translations of scores of individual Greek terms found in these sources, as well as through analysis of the translations of the *Aphorisms*, I weigh the relative importance of Greek and Syriac scholarship for Ḥunayn's translation praxis. In doing so, I specify the value of the Syriac lexicons for the study of Greek-to-Arabic translation while clarifying several outstanding issues in the broader history of Syriac and Arabic medicine.

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الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
 به أستعين
 وهذا ما كنا نرجو

for my Father

Preface

Concerning the transliteration of Syriac and Arabic characters, I have adopted the following approaches. For Syriac, I have used the system found in Wheeler M. Thackston's *Introduction to Syriac*, which renders the Syriac consonants like this: ' *b g d h w z ḥ ṭ y k l m n s ' p ṣ q r š t*, and the vowels like this: *a ā e ē ê i o u*. For the spirantized *begadkepat* consonants, an underscore is used: *b d g k t*. Due to the fact that this thesis concerns East Syriac exclusively, following Nöldeke I have omitted to underscore the letter *pē* throughout. In part minimally to distinguish between the transcriptions of the two languages, I have used a rather different approach to transliterating Arabic. I have rendered the consonants like this: ' *b t th j ḥ kh d dh r z s sh ṣ ḍ ṭ ḏ ḡ h f q k l m n h w y*, and the vowels like this: *a ā i ī u ū*.

The Author

Samuel C. Barry has conducted research as part of the European Research Council-funded project 'Arabic Commentaries on the Hippocratic Aphorisms', led by Peter E. Pormann at the University of Manchester. Previously, Barry received his M. A. in Arabic and Islamic Studies from the Department of Religion at the University of Georgia.

INTRODUCTION

Syriac scholarship in the history of Greek-to-Arabic medical translation

The relative importance of Syriac scholarship for the ‘Abbāsīd-era Arabic translations of Greek works has been a question of central concern ever since the inception of the field of Graeco-Arabic studies. Consider the following passage in Amable Jourdain's classic work *Recherches critiques du l'age et l'origines des traductions d'Aristote et sur des commentaires grecs ou arabes employés par les docteurs scolastiques*:

(J)e me livrerai à quelques remarques sur un point d'histoire littéraire souvent agité et jamais résolu. On s'est demandé fréquemment si les traductions arabes d'auteurs grecs étaient faites d'après le texte grec même, ou d'après des versions syriaques... Pour juger avec certitude du mérite des versions arabes, il faudrait donc s'assurer: 1°. si elles sont faites du grec ou du syriaque; 2°. si c'est une simple interprétation, ou une révision, ou une transcription.¹

In the course of close and intensive study of the Arabic translations of the great translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in particular, the quality of the finest products of the so-called Greek-to-Arabic translation movement has been judged to be very high,

1. Amable Jourdain, *Recherches critiques du l'age et l'origines des traductions d'Aristote et sur des commentaires grecs ou arabes employés par les docteurs scolastiques* (Paris: Joubert, 1843), 86-87.

and to represent faithfully the original Greek sources.² Yet in certain key respects, questions such as Jourdain's that concern the part of preceding Syriac scholarship in the production of these translations still remain unanswered.

In the earlier stages of the development of Graeco-Arabic studies, a certain reticence to treat these questions perhaps would have been understandable. In the absence of critical studies on the viability of the Greek-to-Arabic translations, too-strong emphasis on their potential Syriac mediation could have undermined nascent scholarship by suggesting that the Arabic translations were mere translations-of-translations, and thus were in some way inferior products unworthy of serious attention. Now, however, as the field approaches a more mature state, it seems possible to return to the question of Syriac mediation

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2. At present, the standard reference work on the Arabic scientific tradition is Gerhard Endress' extended essay 'Die wissenschaftliche Literatur', in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie* vols. II and III, Wolfdietrich Fischer ed. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1987-1992). Also important are Manfred Ullmann's technical studies of specific translations of Greek works, such as for example his *Die Nikomachische Ethik des Aristoteles in arabischer Überlieferung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011-2012). Recent articles on the subject include for example Oliver Overwien, 'The Art of the Translator, or: How did Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and his school translate?' in *Epidemics in Context. Greek commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic tradition*, Peter E. Pormann ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012); Peter E. Pormann, 'The Formation of the Arabic Pharmacology: Between Tradition and Innovation', *Annals of Science* 68(4) (2011); and Uwe Vagelpohl, 'In the Translator's Workshop', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 21(2) (September 2011).

without impugning the quality of the translation movement's products in the process. In doing so, we may hope to gain an understanding of the ways in which Syriac-language scholarship contributed to Greek-to-Arabic translation. This in turn may be expected to open passage to a clearer understanding both of the social and cultural history of these translations and of the detailed contents of the translations themselves.

A good deal more attention has been given to the importance of Syriac mediation in the studies of Arabic philosophy than in other fields.³ Yet, while Syriac medical translation lacks a rich body of surviving primary texts, important secondary sources in the field remain underexploited. Some of these are found in the form of the famous translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's descriptions of his numerous translations into Syriac and Arabic of the works of Galen, as well as sizable Syriac-to-Arabic lexicons that contain the philological notes of Ḥunayn and his students and successors. In the following pages, I undertake extensive comparisons of this material with an important surviving example of 'Abbāsīd-era Syriac medical writing, the Syriac translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*. Deploying these resources will deepen understanding of the part played by Syriac scholarship in the development of the Arabic medical tradition, and by extension

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3. See the contributions collected in H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote du grec au syriaque: études sur la transmission des textes de l'Organon et leur interprétation philosophique* (Paris: Vrin, 2004). For natural philosophy and the sciences more generally, including mathematics and astronomy, see Hidemi Takahashi, 'The Sciences in Syriac from Severus Sebokht to Barhebraeus' in *Transmission of Sciences: Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Latin* (Tokyo: Organization for Islamic Area Studies, Waseda University, 2010).

of ‘Abbāsīd-era intellectual life more generally.

As Jake Tannous has argued clearly in a recent study, Syriac intellectual history forms an important bridge between the Greek and Arabic philosophical traditions, and thus between the traditional historical categories ‘late Antique’ and ‘early Medieval’.⁴ Viewed from the present, the study of Syriac intellectual history allows for an unbroken chain of transmission to be established that runs from classical Greek to classical Arabic to scholastic Latin, and thus to the development of modern intellectual notions. Viewed from its own time, such a study clarifies the debt of Islamicate cultural forms to pre-Islamic and specifically eastern Christian adaptations of Hellenic intellectual life. At the same time it shows the extent to which the establishment of Arabic as the pre-eminent language of thought and culture in western Asia transformed that heritage and further integrated it with Greek, Jewish, Persian, Indian, and native Arab traditions into a broader cultural and scientific edifice that has exerted global influence for centuries.

Secular Greek scholarship in Syriac up to the time of Ḥunayn

The first serious attempts to carry works of pagan Greek philosophy into Syriac were undertaken by the seminal translator Sergius of Reš ‘Aynā during the first half of the 6th century of the Christian era.⁵ Sergius' Greek learning derived

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4. Jake Tannous, ‘Syria Between Byzantium and Islam: Making Incommensurables Speak’ (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2010), 60.
 5. For Sergius' biography, see Hugonnard-Roche, ‘Aux origines de l'exégèse orientale de la logique d'Aristote: Sergius de Resh‘ayna (d. 536), médecin et

largely from the Alexandrian curricula of Galenic medicine, Aristotelian logic, and the pseudo-Dionysian corpus of neo-Platonic Christian theology.⁶ These initial efforts to establish a corpus of secular Syriac literature were conserved in monastic institutions across Mesopotamia and the Levant during the final centuries of Byzantine and Sassanid rule in these regions and through the initial centuries of Muslim rule.⁷

The decades following the assumption of the caliphate by the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty in the middle of the 8th century witnessed an efflorescence of intellectual effort prompted in large part by the patronage of the ruling classes.⁸ The heirs of several great pre-Islamic traditions of learning were recruited to contribute their expertise to this endeavour. Syriac-speaking families of scholars deriving from the Persian intellectual centre at Gundeshapur were of particular importance for the study of medicine at the caliphal court.⁹

It has been claimed that Arabic translations of Greek works were produced

philosophe’, *Journal Asiatique* no. 277 (1989). For the part played by Sergius' translations in the development of Syriac and Arabic medicine, see Peter E. Pormann, ‘The Development of Translation Techniques from Greek into Syriac and Arabic: The Case of Galen's *On the Faculties and Powers of Simple Drugs, Book Six*’ in *Medieval Arabic Thought: Essays in Honour of Fritz Zimmermann* (London: Warburg Institute, 2012).

6. H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote*, 123-124.
7. Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (London: Routledge, 1998), 14.
8. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, *passim*.
9. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 118. For the history of this city, see Lutz Richter-Bernburg, ‘Gondēšāpur’, *Encyclopedia Iranica* 11(2), 131-135.

as early as the Umayyad period.¹⁰ However, the accession of the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty to the caliphate marks an inflection point in the attitude of the Muslim elites toward secular Greek learning. Important Arabic translations of Greek medicine and philosophy were performed during the reign of al-Manṣūr in the second half of the 8th century.¹¹ Al-Manṣūr's successors, especially the caliph al-Maʿmūn, sustained and consolidated the translation movement through the first half of the 9th century.¹² In medicine, the key figure in this latter stage development was the translator/physician Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-‘Ibādī. An Arab Christian and a native of the city of Ḥīra,¹³ Ḥunayn gained access to the elite circle of Syriac physicians after a period of studying the Greek language in Byzantium.¹⁴ As evidenced in his *Epistle on what has been Translated of the Works of Galen and what has not been Translated* (hereafter called the *Risālā*), Ḥunayn renovated and significantly broadened the corpus of Syriac translations of the writings of Galen while at the

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10. George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), *passim*. For a critical reception of these claims, see Peter E. Pormann, ‘Arabic Astronomy and the Making of the European Renaissance’, review of *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance*, by George Saliba, *Annals of Science* no. 67 (2010).
 11. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 28.
 12. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 75.
 13. Gotthard Strohmaier, ‘Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq- an Arab Scholar Translating into Syriac’, *ARAM* no. 3 (1991[1993]):, 63-64.
 14. Gotthard Strohmaier, ‘Ḥunayn b. Ishāq as Philologist’, in *Ephrem-Ḥunayn Festival* (Baghdad: al-Maʿarif Press, 1974), 543.

same time producing Arabic translations of many of these same works.¹⁵ Ḥunayn's translations went on to form the foundation of the Arabic medical tradition, which includes the writings of monumental figures like al-Rāzī, ibn Sīnā, ibn Rushd, and Maimonides.¹⁶

The survival of several of his Arabic translations and their profound historical significance has made Ḥunayn best known as an Arabic translator. Yet the emphasis the translator placed on the Syriac translations in the *Risāla*, combined with the much longer extent of the Syriac translation tradition when compared with the Arabic tradition at the time of his career, gives the impression that an understanding of the specific character of the Syriac translations is necessary for a full account of Ḥunayn's contribution to Greek-to-Arabic

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15. Gotthelf Bergsträsser ed., *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen* (Leipzig: Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1925). This edition of the *Risāla* has been supplemented on the basis of newly-discovered manuscripts in *idem.* ed., *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Galen-Bibliographie*, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* vol. 19, no. 2 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1932), and more recently in Fabian Käs, 'Eine neue Handschrift von Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Galenbibliographie', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* no. 19 (2010–11).
 16. For an overview of Arabic medical writing see Manfred Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978). Ullmann's findings are updated on the basis of more recent scholarship in Peter E. Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith's *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2007).

translation. Yet despite the importance of Syriac for Ḥunayn's profoundly significant translation activity, few if any of his voluminous Syriac translations survive.¹⁷ The descriptions given in the *Risāla* combined with the numerous extant Arabic translations of Ḥunayn's give the historian a window into the translator's praxis. Utilization of these sources in the process of close study of those Syriac medical texts that are extant and that may be linked to Ḥunayn or his students should provide even more valuable context.

Again, the Syriac material is very limited. The most promising text available to us, and the work which has received the most scholarly attention to date, is the Syriac version of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* extant in a bi-lingual Syriac-Arabic manuscript,¹⁸ an edition of which was published with a French translation by Henri Pognon in 1903.¹⁹ In part of this manuscript, a Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms* is found facing a copy of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the work.

Furthermore, the text of the *Aphorisms* lends itself well to this type of comparative study. Intended as a sort of overview of the art of medicine as

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17. Sebastian Brock, 'The Syriac Background to Ḥunayn's Translation Techniques', *ARAM* no. 3 (1991[1993]): 139-142. For a detailed account of the extant Syriac sources, see Rainer Degen, 'Galen im Syrischen. Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung die Werke Galen', in *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Vivian Nutton (London: Wellcome Institute, 1981).
 18. MS Arabe 6734, Bibliothèque nationale Française, Paris, hereafter BnF 6734.
 19. Henri Pognon, ed., *Une version syriaque des Aphorismes d'Hippocrate* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1903). All references to the Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* herein refer to this edition unless otherwise noted.

understood by the 5th-century Greek physician Hippocrates, the *Aphorisms* covers a variety of material, ranging across subjects like medical theory, diet, purging, prognostics, diagnostics, gynaecology, and the influence of weather and geography upon health, to name a few. The wealth of the subject-matter is accompanied by a corresponding wealth in terminology, allowing for a large number of Syriac medical terms to be considered. Another element tending to make the *Aphorisms* a suitable entry-point for the study of Syriac and Arabic translations of Greek medicine is the fact that portions of earlier translations of the Hippocratic work in these languages exist alongside the better-known later versions. In total, portions deriving from at least four different classical Syriac and Arabic versions are available. Each of these translations will be described in detail below.

Beyond the texts themselves, important material deriving from the scholarly background of the translations exists in the form of Syriac-Arabic lexicons. Two examples important for the present study are the lexicons of Ḥasan bar Bahlul and Išoʿ bar ʿAli, both of which consist largely of entries originating from Ḥunayn's own lexicographical work. Although I will give a more thorough description of these below, suffice it to say here that they provide resources that greatly enrich the study of the surviving Syriac medical translations.

The Aphorisms of Hippocrates

As one of the central authorities of classical Ionic medicine, the figure of Hippocrates of Kos played a key role in the transmission and development of

medical knowledge in antiquity.²⁰ A leading proponent of humoral theory, Hippocrates' contributions ranged from diet to prognosis to surgery to the professionalization of the medical art. Hippocrates and his students promulgated a school of medical theory and practice that exerted great influence from India to Europe up unto the establishment of modern European medicine in the 19th century.

It is important to note that Hippocrates' influence largely came to be mediated by the work of the famous medical theorist Galen of Pergamon.²¹ In claiming to revive the true Hippocratic doctrine, this physician of the 2nd century CE penned highly influential commentaries that gave their own cast to the often ambiguous language of Hippocrates' works. Galen's interpretation of Hippocratic doctrine was particularly important for the development of Islamicate conceptions of natural philosophy.²²

The *Aphorisms* consists of brief statements regarding a wide range of medical concerns, and the text was often viewed as propaedeutic to the body of Hippocratic medical works.²³ For this reason it received a great deal of attention

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20. For background on the person and school of Hippocrates, see Jacques Jouanna, *Hippocrate* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).
 21. For background information on Galen, see Jim Hankinson ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Galen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
 22. This can be seen in the tendency of Hippocratic works to be transmitted as lemmas in Galenic commentaries, and by the tendency of translators like Ḥunayn to interpret and translate ambiguous Hippocratic texts according to Galen's interpretation of them. Cf. Overwien, 'The Art of the Translator', 165-177.
 23. A. Z. Iskandar, 'An attempted reconstruction of the late Alexandrian medical

both from commentators and from translators in Arabic. Close to a dozen Arabic commentaries on the *Aphorisms* survive, some of which are quite extensive. The entire extant corpus of Arabic commentaries on the *Aphorisms* is in the process of being edited by a team led by Peter E. Pormann at the University of Manchester, and reference to these editions will be made in this thesis where relevant. Very strong scholarship on the Greek text also exists. In this thesis Caroline Magdelaine's edition of the Greek text will generally provide the key point of reference for the Greek tradition of the *Aphorisms*.²⁴

The Extant Syriac Translations of the Aphorisms

As mentioned above, a largely complete Syriac translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* exists in the Paris manuscript BnF 6734. This text was edited by Henri Pognon in the early 20th century. Since then, several articles discussing this work have been published.²⁵ Degen, Brock, and Overwien attribute the authorship of

curriculum', *Medical History* 20(3) (1976): 258.

24. Caroline Magdelaine, 'Histoire du texte et édition critique, traduite et commentée, des *Aphorismes* d'Hippocrate' (PhD diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1988). All references in this work to the Greek text of the *Aphorisms* refer to this edition unless otherwise noted.
25. Four articles in particular should be mentioned: Brock, 'Syriac Background' (already noted above); Rainer Degen, 'Zur syrischen Übersetzung der Aphorismen des Hippokrates', *Oriens Christianus* no. 62 (1978); Oliver Overwien, 'The Paradigmatic Translator and His Method: Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* from Greek via Syriac into Arabic',

the work to Ḥunayn on more or less tentative grounds. Many of the examples found in each of these articles make useful contributions. Brock's article is valuable in particular because of the strong evidence it presents for dating the work in question to the early 'Abbāsīd period. This reduces the urgency of the question of the specific authorship of the work, since a philological study will still provide valuable information about the state of Syriac medicine in an era broadly contemporaneous to Ḥunayn. Along with Mimura, however, it is my view that the attribution of the Syriac *Aphorisms* to Ḥunayn remains problematic for several reasons.

In dating the work to the 'Abbāsīd period, Brock's article makes even more germane Ḥunayn's account of the translations of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* in the *Risāla*. This account reads as follows:

فح. تفسيره لكتاب الفصول. هذا الكتاب جعله في سبع مقالات. وقد كان ترجمه أيوب ترجمةً رديئةً ورام جبريل بن بختيشوع أصلحه فزاده فساداً فقابلتُ به اليوناني وأصلحته إصلاحاً شبيهاً بالترجمة وأضفتُ إليه فصّ كلام بقراط على حدته وقد كان سألني أحمد بن محمد المعروف بابن المدبر ترجمته له فترجمتُ منه مقالة واحدة إلى العربية ثم تقدم اليّ الّا أبتدئ بترجمة مقالة أخرى حتى يقرأ تلك المقالة التي كنتُ ترجميها وشغل الرجل وانقطعت ترجمة الكتاب فلما رأى تلك المقالة محمد بن موسى سألني استتمام الكتاب فترجمته آخره.²⁶

88. His commentary on the Book of Aphorisms. He rendered this book into seven chapters. Job made a bad translation, and Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' sought to improve

Intellectual History of the Islamicate World no. 3 (2015), and Taro Mimura, 'Comparing Interpretative Notes in the Syriac and Arabic Translations of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*', *Aramaic Studies* no. 14 (2016) (Forthcoming). I am grateful to Mimura for the use of his personal copy.

26. Bergsträsser, *Syrische und arabische Galen-Übersetzungen*, ٤٠.

it, but corrupted it further. I then compared it with the Greek and improved it in a way similar to translation. I then added to it the lemmas of Hippocrates' words separately. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, known as ibn al-Mudabbir, had asked me to translate it for him, so I translated for him one chapter of it into Arabic. He then directed me not to begin translating another chapter until he had read that chapter that I had translated. Then the man became busy, and the translation of the book was cut off. But when Muḥammad ibn Mūsā saw that chapter, he asked me to complete the book, and so I translated it until the end of it.

Here, we learn that two of Ḥunayn's contemporaries, Job of Edessa and Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū^ʿ, had produced Syriac versions of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* that Ḥunayn found inferior. In discussing these other ʿAbbāsīd-era translators of the *Aphorisms* into Syriac, Overwien supposed that Ḥunayn's work represented a significant-enough advance over that of his contemporaries to have rendered their work obsolete, resulting in the latter's disappearance.²⁷ It seems clear to me, however, that Ḥunayn's disparaging remarks concerning his contemporaries' translations of Galen's *Commentary* should not be considered sufficient to prove that only Ḥunayn's version could have survived.

Furthermore, it is easy to imagine scenarios that resulted in the loss only of Ḥunayn's Syriac translations while those of his competitors continued to exist. Although the events surrounding Ḥunayn's inquisition and the loss of his library at the hands of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil remain unclear to a significant degree, they do present at least one other plausible avenue for the disappearance of the

27. Overwien, 'Paradigmatic Translator', 162.

translator's Syriac works alongside the normal processes of physical attrition.²⁸ I see no reason to presume solely on the basis of the historical evidence that the extant Syriac translation is the work of any one of the three known 'Abbāsīd-era Syriac translators of the *Aphorisms* to the exclusion of the others. For this reason, the question of the authorship of the Syriac *Aphorisms* must rest on analysis of the text itself.

Textual arguments for and against Ḥunayn's authorship of the Syriac *Aphorisms* exist in this literature. Perhaps most importantly, in the introduction to his edition of the work Pognon asserted that the author of the Syriac *Aphorisms* was a different person from the translator of the Arabic version contained in the manuscript BnF 6734.²⁹ In agreement with Mimura I hold that these arguments have not been sufficiently considered in the literature to date.³⁰

Pognon cited two points against Ḥunayn's authorship of the Syriac *Aphorisms*. First, in the editor's judgment the Syriac translation is overly literal, reducing its serviceability to readers who lack knowledge of Greek. This contrasts with the more reader-oriented approach adopted in Ḥunayn's Arabic translation.³¹ Second, a note consisting of several lines criticizing Galen's

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28. For further details on this episode, see Michal Cooperson, 'Two 'Abbāsīd Trials: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq', *Al-Qantara. Revista de estudios árabes*, 22(2) (2001). In several places in the *Risāla* Ḥunayn mentions a disruption of his library. See e.g. Bergsträsser, *Syrische und arabische Galen-Übersetzungen*, \.
29. Pognon, *Une version syriaque*, ii-iii.
30. Mimura, 'Comparing Interpretative Notes', 2-4.
31. Pognon, *Une version syriaque*, ii.

commentary on aphorism iv. 47 exists in the Syriac text, without corresponding text in the Arabic. Pognon deduced from this that the Syriac and Arabic texts represent two different works, and thus should be considered to have been written by two different translators.

Mimura has shown that a note ascribed to Ḥunayn in the translator's version of the physician's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* presents largely the same criticism as that found in the exceptional note in the Syriac translation.³² Although there are some important differences between these two texts, this new evidence is likely sufficient to vitiate Pognon's second argument. To confirm or deny Pognon's first line of argumentation regarding perceived discrepancies between the translation techniques of these two versions of the *Aphorisms*, an extensive if not systematic comparison of the two translations is required. Although the provision of a definite answer to the question of the authorship of the *Aphorisms* is not the primary end of this thesis, the material presented in this thesis will make a significant contribution to the debate.

Beside the complete text of the Syriac *Aphorisms* as edited by Pognon, fragments of an earlier Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms* also exist. Grigory Kessel has discovered and extracted seven of the Hippocratic aphorisms from the text of the so-called 'Syriac *Epidemics*', a Syriac version of a commentary on the Hippocratic *Epidemics*.³³ Kessel tentatively attributes the authorship of these translations to Sergius of Reš 'Aynā. Kessel's comparisons of this version with the

32. Mimura, 'Comparing Interpretative Notes', 15-18.

33. Grigory Kessel, 'The Syriac *Epidemics* and the Problem of its Identification' in *Epidemics in Context*, Peter E. Pormann ed., (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 118.

later ‘Abbāsīd-era translation show significant differences between the two.³⁴

The Major Arabic Translations of the Aphorisms

As the standard Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*, Ḥunayn's translation of the work exists in a large number of manuscripts. Three broad categories for the transmission of this translation may be noted. They may be transmitted along with Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, or along with one of the dozen or so independent Arabic commentaries on the work, or in one of the numerous manuscripts which contain only the Hippocratic work itself, separate from any commentary. Generally the latter should be considered to have been extracted from Galen's *Commentary* rather than to be fully independent transmissions.

The first modern edition of Ḥunayn's translation was performed by John Tytler and published in Calcutta in 1834.³⁵ This edition was produced from a few Indian manuscripts, which necessarily are less-than-representative of the broader textual tradition of the work. Tytler's edition has now been superseded by Taro Mimura's edition of the Arabic translation of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, which derives the texts of the lemmas from a diverse set of copies of

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34. Grigory Kessel, “Sergius ar-Ra’sī has Translated it into Syriac, but Poorly” (paper presented at the conference Medical Translators at Work, Humboldt University, Berlin, March 20-21, 2014). All citations of the early Syriac translations refer to this presentation.
35. John Tytler ed., *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl li-Abuqrāṭ* (Calcutta: Committee for Public Instruction, 1832).

Ḥunayn's version of Galen's work.³⁶ Further variations on the texts did occur in the process of the transmission of the several commentaries. Although not represented in Mimura's edition, these tend to be relatively minor, and will only be noted where necessary.

Al-Biṭrīq's Arabic Translation of the Aphorisms and the Arabic Palladius

A different Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* has been known to European scholarship at least since the late 19th century. A few score aphorisms derived from this translation are reproduced in the *History* of Aḥmad al-Ya'qūbī.³⁷ Manfred Ullmann attributes this translation to a late 8th-century scholar named al-Biṭrīq, whose work is known from a few other sources.³⁸

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36. Taro Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs li-Fuṣūl Abuqrāt* (ARABCOMMAPPH/editions/Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (tr. Galen)/Galen commentaries books 1-7).
37. Martijn Theodore Houtsma ed., *Ta'riḫ ibn abī Ya'qūb* (Leiden: Brill, 1883), 107-116. Also see Martin Klamroth, 'Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī', *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* no. 40 (1886) for some terminological comparisons between the versions of al-Biṭrīq and Ḥunayn. All citations herein of the early Arabic version of books three through seven of the *Aphorisms* derive from al-Ya'qūbī's *History*.
38. Al-Biṭrīq is believed to have worked under the patronage of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 775). His better-known son Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq was responsible for some early philosophical translations into Arabic. See Hinrich Biesterfeldt, 'Palladius on the Hippocratic Aphorisms' in *Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, ed. Cristina d'Ancona (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 388-389, as well as D. M. Dunlop, 'The

A second source for this translation appeared in the late 20th century upon Hinrich Biesterfeldt's discovery of an Arabic translation of a late-Alexandrian commentary on the *Aphorisms* by a scholar of medicine named Palladius.³⁹ Given the identity between the translations of the lemmas in this text and those found in al-Ya'qūbī's *History*, it is clear that the translator of this commentary and al-Ya'qūbī at the least drew upon a common source. Although the manuscript presents some difficulties that have delayed its publication, for the purposes of this thesis it provides al-Biṭrīq's translation of the lemmas of the entire first book of the *Aphorisms* and some of the second.⁴⁰

Translations of al-Biṭrīq and Yaḥyā (Yuḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 91(3-4) (1959), and Caroline Magdelaine, 'Le commentaire de Palladius aux *Aphorismes* d'Hippocrate et les citations d'al-Ya'qūbī', in *Storia e Ecdotica dei testi medici*, eds. Jacques Jouanna and A. Garzya (Naples: D'Auria, 2003). Manfred Ullmann attributes the authorship of the early translation of the *Aphorisms* to al-Biṭrīq in the initial volume of his *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002-2007), 52-53. See also *idem.*, 'Die Tadhkira des ibn as-Suwaiti, eine wichtige Quelle zur Geschichte der griechisch-arabischen Medizin und Magie'. *Der Islam* no. 54 (1977). This work is particularly important for the study of the *Aphorisms*. In it Ullmann considers several Arabic versions of the *Aphorisms*, including fragments and later *ad hoc* renditions outside of those that figure in this thesis.

39. Biesterfeldt, 'Palladius on the Hippocratic Aphorisms', 388-389. This text is lost in the original Greek.
40. Hinrich Biesterfeldt ed., *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Fuṣūl l-Aḥdithus* (ARABCOMMAPH/

The Syriac-Arabic Lexicons

In the middle of the 10th century of the Christian era, Ḥasan bar Bahlul, a scholar and priest who wrote in Syriac and Arabic, composed a Syriac-Arabic lexicon compiled from the work of several older authorities. Edited and published by Rubens Duval in 1901 from several manuscripts, this tome represents one of the main sources for Syriac lexicography in general.⁴¹ Beyond this general significance for Syriac studies, bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* is of specific importance for the history of the translation of Greek philosophy into Syriac and Arabic as well. This is due to several characteristics of the *Lexicon*, first among them bar Bahlul's extensive utilization of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Greek-Syriac-Arabic and Syriac-Arabic glossography.⁴² Furthermore, bar Bahlul's work preserves very many definitions of key philosophical terms of art that extend well beyond the mere

Hinrich Biesterfeldt Palladius Transcription/Palladius.pdf). This unpublished transcription was kindly provided to the Aphorisms project by the editor. Citations of the early Arabic versions of *Aphorisms* books one and two derive primarily from this source.

41. Rubens Duval ed., *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano Bar-Bahlule* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901).
42. Duval, *Lexicon*, xi. For a preliminary consideration of the relationship between bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and Syriac and Arabic philosophical translation, see Henri Hugonnard-Roche, 'L'intermediaire syriaque dans la transmission de la philosophie grecque à l'arabe: le cas de l'*Organon* d'Aristote', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 1(2) (September 1991), 198-200.

listing of synonyms. At times these resemble the entries of an encyclopaedia rather than the definitions of a dictionary. These longer entries are regularly written in Syriac, and so are valuable for the study of 'Abbāsīd-era Syriac intellectual life.

The *Syriac Lexicon* of Išo' bar 'Ali is also very important for the study both of the Syriac language and of the Greek-to-Arabic translation movement. The author of this lexicon was in all likelihood a student of Ḥunayn's who flourished in the late 9th century.⁴³ In his preface, the author mentions his reliance on the work of Ḥunayn and another scholar named al-Marwazī, who was himself also a student of Ḥunayn's.⁴⁴ The first volume, comprising the glosses for the letters *alep* to *mim*, was printed from a hand-written transcription prepared by the editor Georg Hoffmann in 1874.⁴⁵ The second half of the work was subsequently edited

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43. Aaron Michael Butts, 'The Biography of the Lexicographer Išo' bar 'Ali', *Oriens Christianus* no. 93 (2009).
44. Butts, 'Biography of the Lexicographer', 59-63. Although as Butts remarks 'it cannot be assumed that any given lemma found in the manuscript tradition is from the hand of Bar 'Ali himself' due to the evidence that later authors supplemented the work, as I will show in several places below significant overlap can often be found between the material in bar Bahlul's and bar 'Ali's lexicons as well as Ḥunayn's translations of the *Aphorisms*. As I will argue, these commonalities often should be considered strong evidence that the relevant material is derivative of Ḥunayn's lexicographical work.
45. Georg Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen: Autograph einer Gothaischen Handschrift enthaltend Bar 'Ali's Lexicon von Alif bis Mim* (Kiel: Schwesche Buchhandlung, 1874). The entries in this edition are numbered serially. For

and published in two typeface volumes by Richard J. H. Gottheil.⁴⁶

Due to its more abridged quality, bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* is of somewhat less significance for the Syriac intellectual history than is bar Bahlul's work. However, as will be shown below, the entries of bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* may be shown from time to time to represent Ḥunayn's Arabic translation choices more accurately even than do bar Bahlul's. Other points of interest may be made by citing it in various contexts.

Aims of the Work

On the basis of this material I propose to undertake an extensive comparison of the terminology of the Syriac and Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms*. I shall do so from several perspectives in four chapters. In Chapter One, I consider the relationship between the Greek and Syriac lexicography in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* on the one hand and the Syriac and Arabic translations of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* on the other. In making these comparisons I shall seek to determine two things. As mentioned above, bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* represents a compilation from several sources. Due to peculiarities in bar Bahlul's manner of citing his sources, which I shall detail below, the exact extent to which his *Lexicon* relied upon Ḥunayn's work is unclear. In the comparisons in the first chapter, then, I shall attempt to clarify this question. Following on from this, I shall assess the

citations from this work, I therefore provide the page number followed by the entry number, thusly: 10:1000.

46. Richard Gottheil ed., *The Syriac-Arabic Glosses of Isho' bar 'Ali* (Rome: Tipografia D. R. Academia dei Lincei, 1908-1928).

value of relevant Greek and Syriac lexicography for the study of Greek-to-Arabic translation.

In Chapter Two, I proceed to a more detailed treatment of Ḥunayn's translation techniques. I do this by focusing on his renditions of Greek words which in effect represent themselves in the Syriac *Aphorisms*. As I show, Syriac and Arabic adopted very different approaches to borrowing from the Greek. While such borrowing occurs relatively frequently in the Syriac version, it is extremely rare in the Arabic translation. The efforts made by Ḥunayn to avoid borrowing sometimes resulted in Arabic translations that explicate the sense of the Greek term in ways that can be creative and that shed light upon his translation praxis. Considering this category of terms also allows for the Greek lexicography contained in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* to be more thoroughly considered.

In Chapters Three and Four I proceed to compare the four translations of the *Aphorisms* described above in the light of the 'Abbāsīd-era scholarly background as represented by the Syriac lexicons. Although these comparisons are organized around the more attenuated remains of the early Syriac and Arabic versions, by continuing to employ the methods of lexicographical comparison I regularly extend the discussions to consider the whole body of the *Aphorisms*. Although there is no strict division of subject-matter beyond this, Chapter Three tends to consider more strictly medical terminology, in particular disease-names, while Chapter Four tends more to treat theoretical and philosophical terminology. Finally, on the basis of these discussions, I consider the importance of Syriac sources for the main Arabic translations and the conclusions that may be drawn from them for the study of the broader Greek-to-Arabic translation movement.

PART ONE

THE SYRIAC LEXICON OF BAR BAHLUL AND THE SYRIAC AND ARABIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE HIPPOCRATIC APHORISMS

CHAPTER ONE

On the general relationship between bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and the Syriac and Arabic translations of the Aphorisms

As discussed in the introduction, the lexicon of Ḥasan bar Bahlul is a very important source for the study of the history of Greek translation in the early ʿAbbāsīd period. This work, compiled from several Syriac-Arabic lexicons, contains a large number of glosses written by some of the most important translators of philosophical and scientific works into Syriac and Arabic, including Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and Sergius of Reš ʿAynā among several others. Beyond Syriac, Arabic, and Greek, many terms of Hebrew and Persian origin are defined in the *Lexicon*.⁴⁷ Religion, theology, philosophy, medicine, and botany are only some of the subjects covered by the entries in the work.

47. In the examples presented throughout the thesis, I have adopted the convention of referring to this work by the column and line of the entry presented, written in the text itself according to the following format: for 100:1, read column 100, line one. Citations from bar ʿAli's *Lexicon* will be given in the footnotes in the normal way.

Approaches to the lexicographical material

In his pathbreaking study *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina's Pragmaiteia*,⁴⁸ Peter E. Pormann developed techniques useful for the analysis of the entries of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. At the same time he clarified certain difficulties concerning the use of the *Lexicon* as a source for the translation movement.⁴⁹

48. Peter E. Pormann, *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina's Pragmaiteia* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

49. Some of the conventions used in this work originate in Pormann's study, such as that of typing the translations of the Syriac elements of entries in plain face but the Arabic elements in italics. See Pormann, *Oriental Tradition*, 16 n. 20. Beyond these, I have introduced some new approaches. In Duval's edition, the first headword of every entry is set off in bold font from the rest of the entry's text. Because of this arrangement, at first glance it would appear that each entry defines solely the initial headword set off from the text in this manner, but this is not in fact the case. Although in general all of the headwords found under a given entry will be related to one another linguistically, strong and unpredictable variation in the authorship and subject matter of the entries is commonplace. In order to make this clear, I have placed all headwords in bold font regardless of their position in the entry. It is appropriate to mention here some further terminological distinctions concerning the *Lexicon*. In bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, every entry consists of a headword or a series of headwords, each of which is given a definition. With only very rare exceptions, all of the headwords are written in

Pormann's approach to the lexicographical material centred upon the identification of entries in the *Lexicon* defining terms derived from Greek and containing material attributed by bar Bahlul to Paul of Aegina, a 7th-century Alexandrian scholar of medicine whose work was important for the early Arabic medical tradition. Pauline material occurs with some frequency in the *Lexicon*, and furthermore the existence of Immanuel Löw's list of entries containing definitions attributed to Paul allowed Pormann to consider a significant number of terms.⁵⁰

Despite sound beginnings, extension of Pormann's methods to the study of the material relevant to the broader translation movement has required some reconsideration of the editorial state of the *Lexicon*. In particular, an important oversight of the editor Duval's has made approaching the work somewhat difficult for succeeding generations of scholars. Duval made an impressive effort to locate and identify Greek terms in the lexicon. However, his index of Greek words remained arranged according to the place of the occurrence of the word in the lexicon, rather than being ordered alphabetically. This type of arrangement is not found in the following Syriac, Arabic, and Persian indices, which are alphabetically ordered. For several reasons, including the character of Syriac transliteration of Greek words, often severe variations between conventions of transliteration, scribal errors, and the relatively common placement of several Greek headwords within a single entry, systematic use of the Greek index in this state is impossible.

Syriac characters, no matter the language of origin of the word in question.

50. Immanuel Löw, 'Review of R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* no. 47 (1893).

For this reason I have made an alphabetized list of the words represented in Duval's Greek index, which will be provided in an appendix to the present work. In the process I noticed that Duval's cross-referencing of his entries was not complete, so I have completed that task as a matter of course. Furthermore, alongside the Greek words for which Duval questioned his own attribution and those for which he did not hazard a guess, there is still ample room in my view to question and contest several of the attributions he made firmly. This is true especially when evidence from extant translations can be adduced, some examples of which I will give below.

Comparing the lexicographical material and the translations

With Duval's Greek index now systematically accessible, I have proceeded to identify words which occur both in this index and in the Greek text of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*. Although numerous Greek words identified by Duval in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* are also present in the *Aphorisms*, these represent a definite minority of the words occurring in the latter work. Only about a third of the Greek words beginning with *alpha* in the Hippocratic work are also defined in the *Lexicon*. In systematically considering these entries, furthermore, this proportion suffers attrition due to various reasons. Some of these result from Duval's identifications, which at times are little more than guesses (as the editor regularly noted himself). Others may be proved incorrect with closer scrutiny, although this is relatively rare.

Studying the rendition of these words in the Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms*, I have separated out numerous terms in represented in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* that are in effect minimally Syriacized borrowings from Greek. These

terms constitute the subject matter of Chapter Two below. Before proceeding to that material, however, in order to aid understanding of the relationship between the *Lexicon* and the translations in general, I wish to present entries for a range of Greek words that are rendered in the Syriac *Aphorisms* without recourse to the use of a borrowed Greek term. The material in the present chapter thus represents Greek words present in both the *Aphorisms* and bar Bahlul's *Syriac Lexicon* that begin with the letter *alpha*. Although this is something of an arbitrary selection, it has the advantage of providing a glimpse of the role of Greek scholarship in the translation of a range of concepts, including technical and non-technical words, and a variety of linguistic forms.

In considering this material I have focused particularly upon the relationships between the material in the lexicons and the translation equivalents given in the Syriac and Arabic versions of the *Aphorisms*. I have often supplemented these sources by reference to the translations cited in Manfred Ullmann's *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts*.⁵¹ These relationships can be used to provide firm answers to

51. This lexicon provides extensive comparisons of the various techniques adopted by classical Arabic translators of Greek works. Ordered in the first instance according to the Greek alphabet, the terms to be treated are presented within their textual context along with the corresponding Arabic sentences in various translations. In what follows, I cite this work regularly for several different reasons. Perhaps most commonly, I use it to supplement the evidence from the early Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*. Also, I refer to it in order to show the relationships obtaining between bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and the broader translation literature. Where relevant, I discuss the characteristics of the various translations

several outstanding questions regarding the role of Syriac in the Greek-to-Arabic translation movement.

Some of these questions are: How did Ḥunayn use Syriac in the production of his Arabic translations? How important was the Syriac scholarship undertaken prior to Ḥunayn, both for his Arabic and for his Syriac translations? Upon what methods did Ḥunayn's and other Syriac authors' lexicographical scholarship proceed? To what extent was this lexicography representative of or influential for the Arabic translations, and to what extent did the translators rely upon their glossaries in the production of the translations? Conversely, how well do the later compilations of bar Bahlul and bar 'Ali represent earlier stages of the translation movement? A fundamental question may be said to follow on the concern of Jourdain's quoted at the beginning of the Introduction: Was the Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* performed on the basis of the original Greek text or rather on the basis of Ḥunayn's Syriac translation of the work?

Beyond the various characteristics that make it valuable for historical research into Greek-to-Arabic translation, bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* contains much material that well displays the independent reasoning and specific combinations of influence that gave 'Abbāsid intellectual life its unique cast. For this reason, I have tended to give broad space to the entries rather than to restrict my treatments of them only to those elements which can positively be shown to relate directly to the translation movement. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate the value of this material beyond the confines of Graeco-Arabic studies, particularly for Syriac studies and 'Abbāsid intellectual history more generally.

The authorship of the entries of the Lexicon

cited there.

Alongside these considerations, the fact that bar Bahlul included definitions written by several authors in his lexicon alongside his own material presents the student of the *Lexicon* with certain difficulties.⁵² One goal of presenting the examples that follow is roughly to judge the frequency with which each author is referenced in the *Lexicon*, and to notice any patterns that the citations of individual authors follow. These tasks might seem straightforward at first, but they are complicated by the peculiar features of bar Bahlul's approach to referencing his authors. In particular, many of the definitions are not referred to any particular author. Yet these may not be assumed to have been written by bar Bahlul himself, for he writes in his prologue: 'For most of the terms contained in this lexicon whose author is not indicated, the text in them belongs to our teacher (*rabban*) Ḥunayn'.⁵³ For this reason I regularly refer to unattributed definitions as 'attributable to Ḥunayn', by which I intend to indicate the possibility that Ḥunayn did in fact write them. The degree of certainty with which any given unattributed definition may be attributed to Ḥunayn will be an important motif running through the entirety of this work.

Even for Henanišo' bar Serošway, an author whose name is more

52. For a full account of these authors, see the introduction to the edition of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, Duval, *Lexicon*, xiii-xxiv.

53. Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum*, xi. Ḥunayn's glossary at one time existed as an independent work, known as *Puššāq Šmāhē* 'The Interpretations of Names'. See Ute Pietruschka, 'Puššāq šmāhē' und 'sullam': Mehrsprachige Wörterbücher bei Syrern und Kopten im arabischen Mittelalter', *Das Mittelalter* no. 2 (1997).

consistently referenced by bar Bahlul (although about whom little more is known), certain complications arise from bar Bahlul's account. Again in the prologue, bar Bahlul writes of this author: 'Henanišo' bar Serošway, the priest of Ḥirtā, whose lexicon is especially accurate, and fulfills Ḥunayn the physician'.⁵⁴ Following one possible interpretation of this statement, one might expect bar Serošway's material to overlap considerably with Ḥunayn's, thus providing further insight into the more-famous translator's glossographical activity. On the other hand, if bar Serošway's 'fulfillment' of Ḥunayn means primarily that the former writer tended to provide new information not mentioned by Ḥunayn, little insight into Ḥunayn's work will be forthcoming from bar Serošway's glosses (although they will still provide interesting insight into 10th-century Syriac scholarship).

The situation regarding the material attributed by bar Bahlul to Paul of Aegina is perhaps even more confused. Pormann tentatively confirmed testimony in classical Arabic sources that Paul's *Pragmateia* was translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn by considering the extant texts of Paul's writing and certain entries attributed to Paul in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*.⁵⁵ In the comparisons of the entries of Paul and Ḥunayn I make in the following chapters, two trends emerge that potentially complicate this narrative. In particular, in key instances the Arabic material attributed by bar Bahlul to Paul diverges significantly both from that

54. Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum*, xi-xii.

55. This issue is discussed in several places in Pormann's book. For the traditional ascription of the authorship of the *Pragmateia* to Ḥunayn, see *Oriental Tradition*, 5. For summaries of the lexical and grammatical evidence, see *ibid.*, 218-219 and 221, respectively.

attributed to Ḥunayn and from Ḥunayn's Arabic translations. Consideration of this material thus has the potential to extend our understanding of the Syriac-to-Arabic version of Paul's glossography.

Despite all of these complexities, as I hope to show below, the Syriac lexicons produced by Ḥunayn's students and successors provide a wealth of interesting material that in general is highly relevant to the history of the Greek-to-Arabic translation movement. Continual reference to these entries provides valuable information regarding the scholarly background of these translations. At the same time it adds flesh to the otherwise spare remnants of the Syriac component of the process.

Greek lexicography and Syriac lexicography

By 'Greek lexicography', I intend the definitions of Greek words that either occur in the translations of the *Aphorisms* or that are related to them. By 'Syriac lexicography' I intend the entries in the lexicons for the Syriac equivalents of the Greek words as given in the Syriac *Aphorisms*. As a principle of organization, I have chosen to present the material according to the varying relationships observable between the Greek lexicography for a given word and Ḥunayn's translations of that word in his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*.

In each section, I study several words in terms of the complex of lexicographical treatments and translation equivalents represented in the Syriac and Arabic sources described in the Introduction. In the first section, I discuss words for which the relevant Greek-to-Arabic definitions in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* agree better with Ḥunayn's Arabic translation equivalents in his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms* than do the Syriac-to-Arabic definitions in the *Lexicon* for the

Syriac equivalents of those Greek words as given in the Syriac *Aphorisms*. In the second, I present words whose Syriac-to-Arabic definitions agree better with Ḥunayn's choices in his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms* than do the Greek-to-Arabic definitions in the *Lexicon*. In the third, I present words for which the Syriac and Greek definitions agree with Ḥunayn's Arabic choices to a more-or-less equal degree.

Syriac and Arabic translations of Greek words beginning with *alpha* in the Hippocratic Aphorisms, with reference to their scholarly background

Section One

As noted above, this first set of examples consists of Greek words whose entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* agree more strongly with Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of these words in the *Aphorisms* than do the entries in the *Lexicon* for the words' Syriac equivalents as represented in the Syriac *Aphorisms*. This may be either because the Greek word is well-represented in the lexicons, or simply because the Syriac equivalent in the *Aphorisms* is absent from the lexicons entirely. In order to consider these complexes of definitions and translation equivalents, I begin by providing entries from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the Greek word. I then proceed to discuss the various patterns observable in the renditions of that word in the several translations. Following this I consider the entries for the relevant Syriac words. These discussions will be supplemented by citations from other sources where appropriate.

1.1

ἁμαρτάνετε

✠ 181:18 ܐܚܠܐܘܬܐ ܫܥܝܐ ܫܥܝܐ ܐܚܠܐܘܬܐ

Amārṭānêṭê, they erred (*hṭaw*), *they erred* (*akḥṭaw*).

Forms of the verb ἁμαρτάνω and the related noun ἁμάρτημα occur three times in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*, all of them in aphorism i. 5. In each instances both al-Bīṭrīq's and Ḥunayn's Arabic translations employ words derived from *khaṭi'a* 'to be mistaken' to translate these Greek words, while the Syriac translation gives words derived from *skal* 'to make a mistake'. Regarding the second instance in the text there is some variation between the modern editions of the Greek original. Magdelaine includes this word, but Jones does not. Likewise in the translations under consideration here there is variation. Both Ḥunayn and the Arabic Palladius include this instance of the word, but the Syriac translation does not.

The Arabic and Syriac definitions given for ἁμαρτάνετε in the entry cited above from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, *hṭaw* and *ikhṭaw*, are etymologically related to one another and communicate broadly the same meaning, i. e. 'they erred'. While the Arabic gloss for ἁμαρτάνετε is related to the Arabic translations of ἁμαρτάνω in the *Aphorisms*, the Syriac gloss is not related to the equivalent found in the Syriac translation. Proceeding to consider the definitions in the lexicons for these two Syriac words, it is relatively clear that *hṭā* was more commonly associated with *khaṭi'a* than was *skal* by the lexicographers. Here is an entry headed by the related word *saklā* 'fool':

1351:6 ههلا اوب حة هنة احمق اهد جاهل واقول مايق غاوي سخيڤ. ههلا اقول سخفاء. ههلا مچ ههلاه.
 فمعهال فمعهاله حى اساء. هاهم وچ اساءة. فمعهاله وحصه كسهلا حب خهعهاله هحبه لاهمهاله ههلههاله
 هاستهاله واهم هحج الجهالة الذنب الاساءة»

Saklā according to bar Serošway, *a fool, also an ignoramus, and I say senseless, erroneous, a simpleton. Saklē I say, simpletons. A fool for (all) his learning. Folly (sakilutā), iniquity (masklānutā), in a manuscript offense (isā'), and according to our teacher offense (isā'a). Iniquity (masklānutā) is through oppression and through injustice and rapine, and (according to) others the like of this, ignorance, sin, offense.*

The following three entries define words related to the Syriac equivalent *ḥṭaw* given in bar Bahlul's entry at 181:18:

739:14 بيهلا اخطأ. نيها يخطي»

Ḥṭā, he made a mistake (akḥṭā'a). Ḥṭē, he is making a mistake (yukḥṭī).

739:26 سههاله خطأ. سههاله خطية هاهم وهنهلا ذنب. سههاله ذنوب. حة هنة شهلاه وه فمعهاله حبههاله
 وبسك سههاله حلاهههاله اوب وهكه اوكهاله. سههاله مهههاله خطية الزمان. سههاله وههاله اسبههاله حههاله قههاله حلاهاله اوتلا
 حلاهاله. اة حلاهاله نههاله. اوب وههاله⁵⁶ ههاله صههاله وههاله اههاله. اة حههاله. اوب ههاله وههاله وههاله.
 اة صههاله واههاله خنهاله وههاله. وههاله. ههاله. اوب وههاله وههاله وههاله. ههاله. وههاله. وههاله.
Ḥṭāhā, mistake (kḥaṭā'). Ḥṭitā, lapse (kḥaṭī'a), and according to Zakariya, sin (dhanb). (According to) bar Serošway sacrifices are called ḥṭāhā because they are offered on account of sins, as if I had eaten [them]. Ḥṭāhā yawmānā, faults of the

56. Duval: *ههاله*. The form used here in Duval's edition can only mean 'such as a cloak' (*ayk d-gultā*), so I have amended the text.

time (khaṭī'a al-zamān). Sins (*ḥṭāhē*) by which rational creatures are seized are expressed in three ways- for either they sin by means of words, such as lying, slander, and other accusations, or by acts like murder, fornication, and theft, or by thoughts which constantly excite pride, wrath, and avarice- just as the powers of the soul are three: reason, will, and appetite.

741:6 يهتتا ذنوب. هاس ح: هته يهلسا مهتا الخطايا. يهتتا حلا وهيو سلبا وناا صاحبا مهتا
 رحووا. سلبا اناا هسنا رحووا وهيتت نعا يينا هح بعدها حلا نبت الخطية. بنهيو اناا صهها ورتا
 وحق: هههها. ههها هه حجة تما ونحه اس ببعها حههه، رتا وسهتا حهح وناا ههح وحتتعا
 الخطايا. سلبا اناا وهههه، هههتا حهتا هاناا حقا بعدها وههم حهنا. حهلا وهيو الخطية.
 بنهتا هه وههح ههتت رهنه حهههنا وبعها الخاطي»

Ḥeṭyānā, *sins* (dhunūb), and according to bar Serošway, *ḥeṭyānā*, *sins*, *errors*. *Ḥeṭyānā* in the *Book of Paradise*, *sin* (*ḥṭitā*), and less regularly as a masculine it is *ḥṭāhē*. *Ḥṭitā* is profit benefiting little (but) causing lengthy suffering, and is by the law condemned, *error*. Sinfulness (*ḥaṭāyūtā*) is a multitude of things, (all of) which transgress a commandment. This name generally comprises as a class all types of transgressions, both those that relate to God and those that relate to mankind, *error*. Sin (*ḥṭitā*), this is a class that (includes) all blameworthy acts that transgress the law established in nature. In the *Book of Paradise*, *error*. The sinner (*ḥaṭāyā*) is one whose will is prepared at all times to accomplish evil, *sinner* (al-khāṭī).

Both the Arabic translations and the evidence from bar Bahlul diverge significantly from the Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms*. However, the Syriac entries contain material that qualifies this discrepancy to a certain extent. Although the authors did not include any word related to *khaṭī'a* under the entry

for *saklā*, it is relatively clear that the sense of that Arabic verb overlaps with those of both of these Syriac words (as does the Greek itself). This somewhat broader sense of *khaṭi'a* may be contrasted with the apparently narrower idiomatic sense of the related Syriac word *ḥṭā*, which according to the evidence in the *Lexicon* has a strongly legal connotation. Perhaps prompted by the close etymological relationship between *ḥṭā* and *khaṭi'a*, the Syriac lexicographers preferred to associate these two terms with one another, while tending less to associate the latter with *saklā*. When faced with a secular sense of ἀμαρτάνω such as those which occur in the *Aphorisms*, however, the broader sense of *khaṭi'a* allowed it to be employed in translation, while the narrower sense of *ḥṭā* could have suggested the choice of a different word.

It is nonetheless the case that the Greek entry relates more strongly to Ḥunayn's Arabic translation than does the entry for the equivalent given in the Syriac *Aphorisms*. Given that the definitions of the Greek word as well as many of the definitions of the Syriac word are left unattributed and are thus attributable to Ḥunayn, this discrepancy would seem to constitute evidence, albeit heavily qualified, against Ḥunayn's authorship of the Syriac version. Besides this, it should be noted that the entry for ἀμαρτάνετε clearly refers to the Greek language and not to a Syriac loan-word from Greek. However, while Duval did follow faithfully the transcription of the entry in his identification of the Greek term as the second-person plural imperfect, the Arabic and Syriac definitions are clearly third-person plural perfect forms. This would appear to indicate a weakness in the Greek lexicography, or at least in its transmission.

1.2

ἄνδρος

Gālozā, preventing, and I say negative (al-sālib)... Glizā, nonexistent, forbidden.

Although the definitions for these Syriac words have certain elements in common with the Greek entry, nothing in them gives any specific insight into Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the term in the *Aphorisms*. Perhaps this is because the concision of the Greek negating prefix α - was only carried over into the Syriac translation by means of an extended phrase rather than a single word, thus making its representation in the lexicographical literature less straightforward. While none of the translations from the *Aphorisms* are represented in the entry for the Greek word, it does make the sense clear in a general way, and so better relates to Ḥunayn's Arabic translation than do the Syriac entries. Thus it may be said that, for Greek words which as a rule were translated into Syriac by means of phrases rather than by single equivalents, it can sometimes be difficult to point to a clearly relevant correspondence in the Syriac lexicography.

Again in this case, we observe important discrepancies in interpretation between Ḥunayn's Arabic version and the Syriac translation. Thus, despite the above qualifications, it is entirely possible that the Syriac lexicography does not represent Ḥunayn's translation for the simple fact that Ḥunayn preferred a different word in his Syriac version. It also is possible that the discrepancy is due to the fact that Ḥunayn relied only upon the Greek text in his composition of his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*.

1.3

αὐτόματον

57:18 **أَوْتَمَاتُونِ** حَرَجٌ رَجَعًا بَعْضُهُ مِنْ ذَاتِهِ مِنْ قِبَلِ نَفْسِهِ أَسْتَبَلِ **أَوْتَمَاتُونِ** مِنْ ذَاتِهِ مِنْ تَلْقَاءِ نَفْسِهِ هَامٍ حَرَجٌ هَمَةٌ حَرَجًا تَوْلِيدٌ لَا أَصْلَ لَهُ»

Awtōmatoŋ in a manuscript, of its own accord, *by itself* (min dhātih), *of its own causing* (min qibal nafsih). (In) others, *awtōmatoŋ*, *by itself*, *of its own accord* (min tilqā nafsih). According to bar Serošway, chance, *born without any cause* (tawlīd lā ašla lah).

58:1 **أَوْتَمَاتُونِ** مِنْ قِبَلِ نَفْسِهِ»

Awtōmātoŋ, *of its own causing* (min qibal nafsih).

58:2 **أَوْتَمَاتُونِ** أَمْرٌ سَبَحٌ حَتَّىٰ وَهَلَّجًا وَحَدَا يَوْمَهُمْ وَأَمْرٌ وَحَدَابٍ وَحَدَابٍ وَحَدَابٍ هُوَ لَا حَسَبَهُالَ تَوَا هَمِجٍ **أَوْتَمَاتُونِ** هَمٌّ هَمٌّ مِنْ قِبَلِ نَفْسِهِ لَا يَكُونُ لَهُ أَصْلٌ بَلْ يَصْدُرُ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ إِقْتِدَاءً مِنْ ذَاتِهِ»

Awtāmātoŋ,⁵⁷ according to Ḥunayn, those who held to the doctrine of the school of Epicurus, saying that everything occurs by chance, proceeds without forethought, and begins *awtōmatoŋ*, that is, of its own accord. *It means everything that has no cause, but occurs in people spontaneously by itself* (iqtidāʾ min dhātih).

106:18 **أَوْتَمَاتُونِ** حَرَجٌ حَرَجًا أَمْرٌ سَبَحٌ حَتَّىٰ وَهَلَّجًا وَحَدَابٍ هَمٌّ هَمٌّ مِنْ قِبَلِ نَفْسِهِ لَا يَكُونُ لَهُ أَصْلٌ بَلْ يَصْدُرُ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ إِقْتِدَاءً مِنْ ذَاتِهِ»

Awtōmātoŋ in a manuscript, chance (*šegmā*), that is, something that occurs of its own accord (*men šbot nefešeh*). According to Sergius, indivisible. *That which occurs by itself without being connected to anything else* (ghayr munfašil shayʾ

57. Duval identifies this as a transcription of the Greek αὐτοματισταί. Discussion of the word αὐτόματος follows, but the entire entry is of interest.

minhum), *occurring of its own accord*. (According to) others, that which occurs by itself, is eternal, or is of its own accord.

The adjective αὐτόματος occurs six times in the *Aphorisms* in various forms. The Syriac version translates all of them according to the same general rule, using some form of *men šbot nefešeh* ‘of its own accord’ in each case. Ḥunayn's Arabic on the other hand shows marked variation. Thrice it gives a form of *min tilqā’ nafsīhi* ‘of its own accord’. The other three cases are each translated uniquely according to the translator's understanding of the sense of the text. Thus in aphorism i. 2 *ṭaw’an* ‘spontaneously’ is found, in ii. 5 *alladhī lā yu’rafu lahu sabab* ‘that which has no known cause’ is given, and in iv. 78 *an ghayri shay’ mutaqaaddim* ‘without anything preceding’ is employed.

Two examples of translations of this word are found in the early Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*. Both instances translate with *ṭaw’an* ‘spontaneously’, including its version of aphorism i. 2. Here, Ḥunayn's version and the early Arabic version bear at least a superficial resemblance to one another. Ullmann notices other variations as well. In one example from Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book 10, *min tilqā’ nafsīhī* ‘of its own accord’ is used. In another example from Galen's *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*, the phrase *min nafsīhī* ‘of itself’ is employed.⁵⁸ Finally, the translation of Aristotle's *History of Animals* employs another different form, *min dhātihī* ‘of itself’, in the context of the description of a disease.⁵⁹

58. For a detailed analysis of the various Syriac and Arabic translations of this work, see Pormann, ‘The Development of Translation Techniques’, *passim*.

59. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 148.

Of these various translations, all except *ṭaw'an* ‘spontaneously’ and *min nafsihī* ‘of itself’ are represented in the Greek entries in the *Lexicon*. Several prominent definitions remain absent from the literature surveyed here, however, in particular the Arabic *min qibali nafsihī* ‘of its own causing’, which stands by itself in the entry at 58:1, and the Syriac *šegmā* ‘chance’. A definition for *šbot nefešeh* also occurs in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*:

1653:1 رحما بعمه ٥ رحما بعمه حر من تلقاء نفسه*

Šbot nefešeh (‘its own accord’), this is of its own accord (*men šbot nefešeh*). In a manuscript, *of its own accord* (*min tilqā' nafsih*).

An entry for the Syriac equivalent *šegmā* in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* reads as follows:

1934:8 مِحلا مَبْهَم باطل. أقول كما يجي باتفاق سهو*

Šegmā, *unintelligible, false. I say as it has been agreed upon, negligent.*

Another in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* gives some more relevant information:

مِحلا ولا مَهْمِلا. على الإطلاق من غير تفصيل. مَبْهَم. آخر باطل جزاف.⁶⁰

Šegmā, without discrimination, *unrestrictedly, without measure. Unintelligible, also false, at random.*

60. Gottheil ed., *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, II 411:3

The robust combination of lexicographical equivalents and theoretical discussion in the Greek entries may be contrasted with the slightness of the Syriac entries. The most common Arabic equivalent for αὐτόματος in the *Aphorisms* does appear in the Syriac entry for *šbot nefēšeh*. However, both that equivalent and the translation given in Ullmann's citation of the Arabic *History of Animals* occur in the Greek entries. As well, several more detailed explanations of the term in the Greek entries are quite similar to Ḥunayn's explicating translations cited above, although they are not perfectly identical to them. As in the case of the translations of ἄνδρος in the previous section, it may be that the most obvious explanation for these differences is that the standard Syriac equivalent for the Greek term αὐτόματος was a prepositional phrase as opposed to a single word. Whatever the reason for this, the strong variation between Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and the Syriac version constitutes evidence against the famous translator's authorship of the latter work.

Section Two

This section includes words for which the Syriac lexicography of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* agrees better with Ḥunayn's Arabic translations than does the Greek lexicography.

2.1

ἀγαθός/ἀγαθά/ἀγαθοῦ

﴿الماء خير صالح خيرة سالحة﴾ 22:26

Agatya, good (khayr), good (ṣāliḥ), good (khayra), good (ṣāliḥa).

22:27 نَجْمًا مَّوَدَّ صَالِحًا

Agataus, good (ṣāliḥ).

24:8 نَجْمًا مَّوَدَّ لَهَا خَيْرًا

Aghew according to bar Serošway good (*tābā*), good (khayr).

33:17 نَجْمًا مَّوَدَّ لَهَا خَيْرًا مِّنَ الْخَيْرِ التَّقَى الصَّالِحِ

Agātos according to our teacher, good (*tāb*), and according to bar Serošway good (al-khayr), piety (al-tuqā), good (al-ṣāliḥ).

Forms of this adjective occurs numerous times in the *Aphorisms*. In general, Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of the word display a higher degree of variation than do the Syriac translations. The Syriac invariably translates with a form of either *tāb* ‘good’ or *šappir* ‘fine’. Although the most common word used by Ḥunayn is *maḥmūd* ‘praiseworthy’ in its several forms, he employs other terms and phrases as well.

A certain division of technique occurs in some of Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of this word. For several instances of ἀγαθός that occur in the first four books of the *Aphorisms*, Ḥunayn added the word *‘alāmatun* ‘sign’ to the translation without there being any corresponding Greek word in the source-text.⁶¹ However, in several instances from the second half of the work, the

61. For example, in aphorism ii. 2, where he translated ἀγαθόν used as a predicate adjective with the phrase *fa-tilka ‘alāmatun ṣāliḥa* ‘then that is a good sign’.

synonymous term *dalīl* is found in a similar fashion.⁶² The latter examples also display a strong tendency toward grammatical extension, especially in vi. 11, where five words are used to translate the single Greek adjective. While we do know from his *Risāla* that Ḥunayn translated Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* into Arabic in multiple stages,⁶³ the variation between these translations of ἀγαθός in the first and second halves of the Hippocratic lemmas does not fit with the details of that account.⁶⁴

The Greek lexicography does not extend very far beyond the listing of

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62. For example, in aphorism vi. 11, where the bare predicate adjective ἀγαθόν is translated *kāna dhālika dalīlan maḥmūdān fīhim* ‘that is a praiseworthy indication for them’.
63. Ḥunayn writes that he translated the first book of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* for one patron, and subsequently was asked to translate the rest for another. Bergsträsser ed., *Syrische und arabische Galen-Übersetzungen*, ξ·.
64. The division defined by these translations of ἀγαθός occurs after the fourth book. The last occurrence of the word *‘alāmatun* in translations of that Greek word is found in aphorism iv. 25, following occurrences of it in aphorisms ii. 2 and ii. 33. The first occurrence of the word *dalīl* in these translations is in aphorism vi. 11, following which it is also found in aphorisms vi. 37, vii. 5, vii. 41, and vii. 49. Ḥunayn's account of his Arabic translation of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* states that he translated the first section in one stage, then at a later stage translated the rest of the work. Since this account refers to Galen's *Commentary* and not necessarily to the lemmas themselves, it may not be of great relevance to this study in any respect. The pattern observed here clearly does not derive from the periodical translation mentioned in Ḥunayn's *Risāla*.

synonyms. While the Syriac definition *tābā* is also the most common translation in the *Aphorisms*, the Arabic definitions show very little overlap with Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of ἀγαθός. A form of the word *ṣāliḥ* ‘sound’ does translate ἀγαθός once, in aphorism ii. 2. Although the word *khayr* ‘good’ does not translate ἀγαθός in the *Aphorisms*, the latter word is noted by Ullmann in quotations from the *Arabic Sentences of Menander*.⁶⁵

A definition relevant to the Syriac equivalent *tāb* reads as follows:

785:7 **تَجَل** خير صالح جواد. **تَجَل** المختار من الشيء. **تَجَل** جودة خيرورة صلاح. **تَجَل** جيد. **تَجَل** ما أحسن ويكون جداً*
 ويكون جداً

Tābā, good (khayr), good (ṣāliḥ), good (jawād). (According to) Zakariya, the choice part of something. *Tābutā*, goodness (jūda), goodness (khayrūra), a good condition (ṣalāḥ). *Tāb*, good (jayyid). *Tāb*, that which is very good (mā aḥsanu wa yakūnu jiddan).

In these Syriac-to-Arabic definitions, Ḥunayn's translation choices in the *Aphorisms* are better represented. Although his preferred equivalent to ἀγαθός, *maḥmūd*, is noticeably still absent, the prominence of *jayyid* and related words make the Syriac lexicography more fully representative of Ḥunayn's translation technique than the Greek lexicography.

2.2

ἀγωγή

65. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 65.

24:12 لِحِقْل صَحْدَا بَرِيخِ الْمَاءِ وَمَجْرَى. لِحِقْلُ آبٍ ذِي هَيْتَةٍ سَوِيَّةٍ نَهِيرٍ أَوْ سَلْمٍ وَحَتَّى⁶⁶ إِهْدِ أَنْبِيْبَ قَنَى. لِحِقْلُ آبٍ سَمَّ حَتْلًا صَحْدَا حَصْلًا أَنْوَابٍ مَجْرَى وَزَادَ الْمَرْوَزِيُّ قَنَاةَ الْمَاءِ آخِرَ مِيْزَابٍ بَرِيخٍ. لِحِقْلُ قَنَى الْمَاءِ مَتَاعِبٌ مَجَارِي الْمَاءِ. لِحِقْلُ هَلْوَئِلا آبٍ ذِي هَيْتَةٍ مَجَارٍ وَمَخَارِيْقٍ فِي الْاَرْضِ»

Agogā, drain, *drain of water*, *channel*. *Agogā*, according to bar Serošway a rivulet, *a rivulet*, path of water. Again, *pipes*, *ducts*. *Agogē* according to Ḥunayn channels (*bibē*), also written *bubyā*, *pipes*, *a channel*. *Al-Marwazī* adds *ducts of water*, also *a drain pipe*, *a channel*. *Agogē*, *ducts of water*, *drains*, *channels of water*. *Agogā wa-qāḍinā* (channels and watercourses) according to bar Serošway, *channels and cisterns*⁶⁷ in the earth.

A form of this Greek word occurs a single time in the *Aphorisms*. In aphorism v. 28, the phrase γυναικείων ἀγωγὸν ‘the flow of women’, in the sense of menstruation, was translated by Ḥunayn with *al-dam alladhī yajī’ min al-nisā’* ‘the blood that comes forth from women’, and by the Syriac translator with *dmā nešāyā* ‘the blood of the woman’. Both of these translations make explicit the information implicit in the Greek phrase, although they are stylistically distinct.

66. Duval writes here the single word _____ (adding [*sic*]), following three manuscripts. Two other manuscripts give the reading I have employed, the sense of which is much easier.

67. Although Freytag gives definitions for this word, none of them fit the sense needed here. I proceed on the conjecture that this form *al-makhārīq* is a plural of the word *al-makhraq*, defined by Freytag *lapis in cisternae fundo e quo aqua emittur*, but for which he gives no plural form.

An entry for the Syriac term *dmā* reads like this:

579:8. وقيل الدم في حذوه؛ وهما سسحسا، واسلة؛ وقصه حذوا من الهمقضا، و؛ واسلة حذوا منه حذوه
 حذوه في الدم»

Dmā, blood, a wet and hot humour whose form derives properly from the element of air. It comes to be in the liver (*aytaw b-kabdā*) and its power is in the entire body, *blood* (al-dam).

Although the relationships between the translations and the *Lexicon* are obscured by the fact that both the Greek original and the translations employ phrases to represent the concept in question, the supposedly Greek entry in fact refers to an etymologically-Greek Syriac term that has undergone significant modification in the latter tongue. This hints at a broader problem facing the study of the influence of Greek upon Syriac literature and philosophy. While a large number of borrowings from Greek into Syriac occurred, the conceptual ranges of these borrowings may differ significantly from those of their Greek antecedents. Although there is no specific entry for the equivalent Syriac phrase, the entry for *dmā* thus relates better to Ḥunayn's Arabic translation than does the entry for ἀγωγή.

2.3

αἰδοῖον

602:12. 602:12. حذوا القضيبي من الفحل»

Hayêon, penises, *the penis of the male*.

Forms of this word occur twice in the *Aphorisms*. A distinct translation is used in each of these instances both in Ḥunayn's Arabic version and in the Syriac translation. In aphorism iii. 21, for the phrase *σηπεδόνες αἰδοίων* ‘mortification of the genitals’, Ḥunayn used *ʿafan fī al-furūḥ* ‘putrification in the vulva’ while the Syriac version gives *masyuṭā dab-maḥsānē* ‘decay in the private parts’. For the second occurrence, in aphorism v. 22, Ḥunayn gives *al-faraj* ‘vulva’ while the Syriac gives *qanyā* ‘penis’.

The difference of interpretation between the Arabic and Syriac versions in aphorism v. 22 is striking. Whereas the Greek term may refer to the private parts of either gender, both the Arabic and Syriac terms employed here have etymological associations which clearly specify to which gender they refer: *al-faraj* literally means ‘breach’, while *qanyā* means ‘rod’. This discrepancy thus is a further piece of evidence that the two translations were written by different authors.

The Greek entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* does not correspond with the translations of the *Aphorisms*, especially given that Ḥunayn preferred to interpret *αἰδοίων* with reference to female rather than male anatomy in both instances of the word in that work. An entry for the Syriac term *maḥsānē* is to be found in the *Lexicon* as follows:

1056:18 *جستقنه* *وحداد بجه* *و عانة مواب تصيح تضجّ. جتصيل هاتزل امر ح: هنة الحالبان الازبّ*

العانة الشعرة. هقدا وجتصيل حصّ وهدّو اصبح وضمعا ه. أسآهلا العانة الفرج الحالبان

Maḥsānaw d-Moʿab naqʿun, this is *the loins of Moāb cry, shout*.⁶⁸ *Maḥsānē w- ezbe* (‘the loins and the genitals’) according to bar Serošway, *the hairy area*

68. Isaiah 15:4.

around the loins, (al-ḥālibān al-azabb),⁶⁹ the hirsute loins. *Sipwātē d-maḥsānē* ('lips of the loins') in the *Book of Paradise*, they say the lower part of the abdomen, *pubes, vulva* (al-faraj), *ureters*.

Although its attribution to Ḥunayn is somewhat difficult given its occurrence in close proximity to a Syriac definition from the *Book of Paradise*, the Arabic equivalent *al-faraj* does occur in this entry. Thus the Syriac entry better corresponds with Ḥunayn's approach to translating αἰδοῖον in his version of the *Aphorisms*. Although the Greek entry is attributable to Ḥunayn, it clearly did not serve as his reference in the process of translating the *Aphorisms* into Arabic.

2.4

ἀκμή

276:13 {اصحل جمعته}. {اصقل جمعته} [sic] 70 ٓ صنفون فنون أقران. هاسب ح: هدة قامة: اصحل وستل قامة الحياة ٓ السنّ

Aqmā, age. *Aqmē*, ages. In a manuscript, *types, varieties, peers*. According to bar Serošway, *stature*. *Aqmā d-ḥayyē*, *stature of life*. In a manuscript *age* (al-sinn).

Forms of ἀκμή and the related verb ἀκμάζω occur six times in the *Aphorisms*. In all of these instances Ḥunayn's Arabic translation employs a form of the word *al-*

69. This word is somewhat obscure. The most obvious sense in the dictionaries would be 'umbilical veins'.

70. This is an abnormal plural. According to Payne-Smith the regular forms are اصحل and اصقل.

mundahā, while the Syriac gives a form of *‘uzzā*, both meaning ‘limit’. Al-Biṭrīq’s translations of these words in aphorisms i. 8, i. 9, i. 10, and ii. 29 also exist. These exhibit greater variation than do Ḥunayn’s. In the first two, the translator translated with a form of *ziyāda* ‘increase’. For both of the instances of ἀκμή in i. 10, however, he translated with *mundahā marḍihim*, as did Ḥunayn. For ii. 29, which concerns the use of medicines at different stages of a disease, the early translator uses another different phrase. There, ἀκμάζω is found in the participial form ἀκμαζουσῶν ‘at the apex (of the disease)’. Al-Biṭrīq translated this with *in sa’idat al-‘illa* ‘if the disease rises’, while Ḥunayn translated it with *idā šāra al-marād ilā mundahāhu* ‘when the disease comes to its utmost limit’.

Along with his citation of this example, Ullmann notes the use of *mundahā* for ἀκμή from both of these authors in their translations of Galen’s *On Simple Drugs* Book Six.⁷¹ Thus, while the early translator did know *al-mundahā* to be a possible equivalent to ἀκμή, he was also capable of using other, broadly synonymous translations. Ḥunayn’s preference, however, appears to have been to use *al-mundahā* in a more standardized fashion, even when to do so required significant expansion relative to the source-text.

Nothing in the Greek entry in bar Bahlul’s *Lexicon* relates to the translations given. An entry for the Syriac equivalent *‘uzzā* runs as follows:

1413:17 حور ح شد ص صعبه منتهى. زاد المروزي سورة فورة عزة. حور اء اء اء ح صءء انءهاء الشءء الى
الغاية

‘Uzzā in a manuscript, *force, difficulty, utmost extreme* (*mundahā*). *Al-Marwazī adds vehemence* (*sawra*), *outburst, power*. *‘Uzzā* again according to bar

71. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 86-87.

Serošway, *the extremity (intihā')* of something unto the utmost.

Muntahā appears in the first definition, which may be attributed to Ḥunayn by virtue of bar Bahlul's reference to 'a manuscript'. The entry shows a correspondence between the Syriac and Arabic equivalents as represented in the translations of the *Aphorisms*. No such correspondence exists in the Greek entry given above.

2.5

ἀκρατός

145:6 ܐܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܝܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܝܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܝܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܝܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܝܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܝܘܢ
 الضعيفة أراء النفس الضعيفة

Ayqraṭos (according to) bar Serošway, weak consciousness of the soul (*terṭā nasistā d-nepešā*), *weak conceptions of the soul* (arā' al-nafs al-ḏa'ifa).

Forms of the word ἀκρατής and related words occur three times in the *Aphorisms*. The available translations display no pattern of approaching these instances, but rather each is translated differently according to its context. In aphorism iii. 12, the word ἀκρατέα is used to describe the offspring of women who, having been with child in the course of a 'southerly, rainy, and calm' winter, give birth in a spring that is 'dry and northerly'. Ḥunayn in his Arabic translation rendered the adjective with the inner accusative *ḏa'ifa al-ḥaraka* 'weak of action', while the word *mḥilē* 'weak' is utilized in the Syriac version. Although the word *al-ḏa'ifa* does occur in bar Bahlul's entry for the Greek term above, its context is too specific for it to constitute an exact agreement. That is not the case in the following entry for the Syriac *mḥilā*:

1054:1 *ܡܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ*⁷².

Mẖilā, weak (ḏaʿīf), *m̱hilutā* ('weakness'), *weakness* (ḏaʿīf).

The second instance, the word (νεύρων) ἀκράτειαν 'debility, impotence (of the nerves)' in aphorism v. 16, occurs in the context of an enumeration of the potential negative influences of heat upon the body. The Syriac translates this with *tānubutā* (*d-gyādē*) 'numbness (of the nerves)'. Although almost all manuscripts of Ḥunayn's Arabic read here *yaftaḥu* (*al-ʿaṣab*) (heat) conquers the nerves', there is a notable dissension which I discuss below. The early Arabic translation gives *yadhabu bi-shidda al-ʿaṣab* 'destroys the strength of the nerves'.

An entry for the Syriac equivalent *tānubutā* reads as follows:

2074:21 *ܡܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ ܘܫܒܠܐ*
Tānubutā, numbness (*khadar*), *annihilation of sense*. And according to bar Serošway *tānubutā* is that which occurs in the fingers because of great cold, *numbness of the extremities*.

In the bilingual manuscript BnF 6734, there are found several alternatives to the dominant tradition *yaftaḥu* in aphorism v. 16. The text itself reads in its place *khadar fī al-i-ṣāb* 'numbness in the nerves'. A note in another hand, which in many places in the manuscript corrects variants toward more generally attested readings, reads *tafassukh wa-irkhā* 'dissolution and laxness'. The consonantal skeleton of the first word in the note (تفسيخ) is very similar in appearance to that of

72. Duval: *ܘܫܒܠܐ*.

the dominant tradition (فـتـحـ), so the two may readily have been confused. Furthermore, the second word is related to the reading found in Tytler's edition, which adds *yarkhā* 'relaxes (the nerves)' to *yafṭahu*. The correspondence between the Syriac entry for *tānubutā* and the translation found in the Paris manuscript is remarkable, but could be explained in different ways. It is possible for example that the scribe corrected Ḥunayn's Arabic against the Syriac with the aid of Ḥunayn's glossary.

For the third instance, the occurrence of ἀκρατής in aphorism vii. 40, Ḥunayn in his Arabic translation used yet another construction. In translating ἢ ἢ γλωσσα ἐξαίφνης ἀκρατής γένηται, he wrote *matā 'adima al-lisānu baghtatan quwwatahu* 'when the tongue loses its strength all at once'. The Syriac translation's single manuscript is mostly effaced in this place; although the words *lan ḥayla* are discernible and may indicate a similar approach to that found in the translation of iii. 12, no systematic comparison is possible.

Although the Greek and Syriac entries are both representative of Ḥunayn's translation of the *Aphorisms*, the specificity of the Greek entry makes it slightly less so than the Syriac. The entry for *mḥilā* at 1054:1 indicates a strong equivalence between the Arabic and Syriac translations of ἀκρατής in the *Aphorisms*. The source of bar Bahlul's entry very well may have been Ḥunayn's working glossary.

2.6

ἀνάγκη/ἀναγκαῖον

سما 211:13 الكرمه ضرورة*

Ananke, necessity (*elṣitā*), *necessity* (ḍarūra).

211:14 ܐܢܢܩܘܫ ܕܥܘܪܝܐܬ

Ananqos, necessities (darūrīyāt).

Forms of this Greek word occur numerous times in the *Aphorisms*. The early Arabic translation, Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, and the Syriac translation of the word all display some degree of regularity. The Syriac translation in particular is very regular in that it uses precisely the same word, *elṣā*, in all but one of these instances. The only exception is in aphorism vi. 58, where the Greek word is translated using the borrowed form *ananqē*.

Both of these translations and the transliteration are in consonance with the *Lexicon's* entry at 211:13. In a majority of these cases Ḥunayn translated the word with a form of the phrase *wajiba darūratan an* 'it is absolutely necessary that', which partially concords with the Greek entries in the *Lexicon*. In some places, he used the phrase *lā budda* 'it is inevitable', which was also the preferred phrase of al-Biṭrīq in his renditions of these instances.

As the single example of the borrowing *ananqē* indicates, ἀνάγκη was carried over into Syriac. This should colour somewhat any reading of the entries in bar Bahlul. That said, the definitions do not indicate a departure from the Greek word itself, and furthermore the headword given in the entry at 211:14 has a Greek grammatical form. The entry at 211:13 is an example of the tendency toward equivalent definitions in both target languages and perhaps shows that the borrowed Greek word was still somewhat obscure to Syriac speakers, or at least was not the usual standard. This corresponds to the evidence in the Syriac *Aphorisms*.

An entry relating to the Syriac equivalent *elṣā* in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* reads

as follows:

179:5 كَتَبْتُمَا الْوَجِبَ. كَتَبْتُمَا حَرْفَ صَسَا سَمَا سَمَا. كَتَبْتُمَا حَرْفَ هَهْ ضَرْوِيَّةَ. كَتَبْتُمَا حَرْفَ ضَايِقَ آخَرَ ضَيْقَ اضْطَهْدَ الْمَرْوِزِيَّ أَجْبَرَ وَأَقُولُ لَجَّ لَزَّ. كَتَبْتُمَا حَرْفَ هَهْ ضَرْوِيَّاتِ الْمَضَايِقَاتِ. كَتَبْتُمَا حَرْفَ أَقُولُ مَشَقَّةَ اضْطِرَارِ مَضَايِقَةَ اضْطِهَادِ مَزَا حَمِ ازْدِحَامِ. كَتَبْتُمَا حَرْفَ اضْطِهْدُونِي وَأَقُولُ لَجَّوَا عَلَيَّ لَزَّوْنِي الْجَوْنِي»
Ālṣāyā, necessity (al-wājib). Ālṣāytā in a manuscript, this is ‘truly of nature’.
Ālṣāytā (according to) bar Serošway, necessity (ḍarūriyya). Elaṣ, to be damaged,
narrow (ḍāyiq), also narrow (ḍayyiq), oppression, and (according to) al-
Marwazī, to oppress. I say to torment, to bind. Ālāṣātā (according to) bar
Serošway necessities, impediments. Aliṣūtā, I say toil, damage, constriction,
oppression, competition, crowdedness. Elṣun, they oppressed me, and I say they
tormented me, they bound me.

In this entry, another common element in Ḥunayn's translation of the *Aphorisms al-wājib* ‘necessity’ is present, thus making it slightly more representative of the translator's translation technique than the Greek entries. The full phrase *yajibu min al-ḍarūra* still does not appear. It is found in an entry in in bar ‘Ali's lexicon, however:

كَتَبْتُمَا حَرْفَ هَهْ أَتَجِبُ يَجِبُ مِنَ الضَّرُورَةِ.⁷³

Ālṣā, this is of necessity (men ānānqē), absolutely necessary (yajibu min al-ḍarūra).

Despite the broad correspondence between these various texts, and also the

73. Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen*, 31:772.

presence of ἀνάγκη in the Syriac language, the correspondence between Ḥunayn's translations and the Syriac entries in the lexicons is stronger than that obtaining between the translations and the Greek entries. The entry in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* best reflects Ḥunayn's usage in the *Aphorisms*. Although this pattern strengthens the relationship between the Syriac lexicography and Ḥunayn's translations, the numerous cases in which Ḥunayn did not use any of these forms indicates that the translator did not work mechanically from the Syriac entries, but rather adapted his language to the context in which he worked.

2.7

ἀνάληψις

195:25 *انحدهفصم*⁷⁴ التسلق الصعود *انحدهفصم* ههحما السلاق الصعود

Anālimpisis, ascent, rising. In a manuscript *anālionpisis*, the Ascension, the Ascension, the rising.

Forms of ἀνάληψις occur twice in the *Aphorisms*. In aphorism i. 3 ἀναλήψεις refers to restoration of the body by food. Ḥunayn rendered it with the phrase *kull taghdhiya* ‘all feedings’, the Syriac translator gave for it *m̄tarsyānuṭā d-mendriš* ‘nourishment that is renewed’, and the early Arabic translator translated it *mala* ‘repletion’. Although there is no entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* exactly corresponding to the Syriac equivalent *m̄tarsyānuṭā*, a related noun *tarsāytā* is

74. According to Liddell-Scott, later Greek writers often wrote this word ἀναλήμψις, and it is clear that at least the head-word of the entry follows this later convention.

represented in an entry that reads like this:

2089:5 ١٠٢٥٨١ حَىّ الغداء القوت صَ حَلسا آَ هَرمعا قَ. لا ١٠٢٥٨١ الهزال جاء به فولس في علل العين فقال إنَّ
الهزال ضيق العين وصغرها والسلُّ ضيق صبي العين وحده»

Tarsāytā, nourishment (al-ghidhā'), nutriment, when the *taw* has a short a-vowel and the *semkaṭ* has a long a-vowel. *Lā tarsāytā*, emaciation (al-huzāl). Paul introduced it among the diseases of the eye. He said 'emaciation is weakness of the eye and its reduction, and consumption is the weakness of the pupil of the eye alone'.

The initial Arabic definition attributable to Ḥunayn shows strong agreement with the Arabic and Syriac terminology in the *Aphorisms*. Although not directly related to the translations considered here, the ophthalmological fragment of Paul is also of importance. This is in part due to its being represented in an entry with a Syriac headword.

In aphorism iv. 27, where ἀναλήψεσι signifies 'recovery, convalescence', Ḥunayn employed the hendiadys *yanqahu fa-yughdhā* 'he recovers and is fed'. The Syriac version translates here with *zabnā d-masyānuthon* 'the time of their being healed'. A short entry for a word related to the Syriac equivalent reads as follows:

991:7 حاصتلا الآساة الشفافة»

Masyānā, healing (al-asā), recovery (al-shifā).

In this second case, Ḥunayn's interpretation differs from that of the Syriac translator. Interestingly, the Syriac lexicography for the first Syriac equivalent

حكا لقتلا اصب مصقلا ذوا. فحدا وب حكا لقتلا حسمو. افع صنبكلاما صلبنمسم صوه، صهلا صعملهالا
 حنبا وأقول الأمنية والأمل والرجاء للخير فقط... **صحدا** اص صة ظن ويقال توهم. صحن: ابا اص ح: صة اظن وأقول
 اصصا: ا ح وقع لي. **صحدا** بشري. **صححنهالا** تبشير. **صححنلا** اص صة المبشر»

Sabrā according to bar Serošway, expectation of those things which are to come and that are renowned and proclaimed. The difference between hope and expectation is that expectation may be for good and evil together, but hope is solely for good, even if they may be felt in a mixed way, for the sake of simplicity and habit. *I say trust, hope, expectation (rajā')* for good only... *Sabrā* according to Ḥunayn, *opinion, and it is said supposition. Sābbar-nā* according to bar Serošway, *I suppose, and I say estabbrat li, it occurs to me. Shartā, good tidings. Msabbrānutā, giving good tidings. Msabbrānā* according to Zakariya, *a giver of good tidings.*

Some of this material is also present in an entry in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon*:

فحدا ص صهقنا واسم وحلتى ولحق اه مصصدا. صهوهصا اص صه صهقتا صصدا. ص صهصا حكا لقتلا
 اصصه صحدا وب حكا لقتلا حسمو افع صصكلاما صلبنمسم صوه، صهلا حنبا. أمل رجاء. والرجا للخير
 يفيض. يقال فحدا مصصنهالا.⁷⁵

Sabrā, this is expectation of those things which are to come that are renowned and proclaimed. The difference between hope (*sabrā*) and expectation is that expectation may be for good and evil together, but hope is solely for good.

Because bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* relied more exclusively on Ḥunayn's glossary than did bar Bahlul's, the latter's attribution of the material shared between the two entries

75. Gottheil, *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, II 141:12.

to bar Serošway is somewhat problematic. On the one hand, it may merely be a mistake or a later interpolation. On the other, it may mean that bar Serošway reproduced Ḥunayn's definition of *sabrā* in his own work. This kind of reproduction would have significance for our understanding of the relationship between the glossographical works of Ḥunayn and bar Serošway.

2.9

ἀνταποδιδούς/ ἀνταπόδοσις

206:26 *ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟⲧⲓⲃⲟⲩⲥ* 𐤇 𐤁𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤌 𐤇 𐤁𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤌 𐤇 𐤁𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤌

Anṭapudidus (according to) bar Serošway, that which recompenses (*d-pāre'*), *one who recompenses, one who apportions, one who exchanges*.

207:1 *ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟⲧⲓⲃⲟⲩⲥ* 𐤇 𐤁𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤌 𐤇 𐤁𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤌

Anṭapodsīs (according to) bar Serošway, *reward, gratification*.

In aphorism 1. 12, Hippocrates refers to the ἀνταποδόσεις 'alternation' of cyclic periods of exacerbation as one of the phenomena which may be used to infer the specific characteristics of diseases. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation *tazayyud* 'increase' and the Syriac translation *tawseptā* 'increase' correspond in their interpretations, but the Arabic also explicates by adding *nā'ibatan* to give the sense of 'cyclic increase'. Al-Bīṭrīq differed in his interpretation, giving *tadāwul* 'alternation'.

Some relevant entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the Syriac equivalent run as follows:

their translations of these instances. The former gives *al-rabw* ‘dyspnea, asthma’ and the latter *lhātā* ‘asthma, shortness of breath’ for each occurrence. For the instance of the word in aphorism iii. 26 the early Arabic version is also extant, and in that place the word *buhr* ‘laboured breathing’ is employed. Besides this example, Ullmann notes others which show Ḥunayn's translation *al-rabw* to be a common choice beyond the *Aphorisms*.⁷⁶

Although Duval's identification of its underlying Greek term must surely be correct, the entry at 227:13 does not echo the extant translations in any respect. However, in the definition of ἄσθμα/*al-rabw* found in Ḥunayn's translation of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, there is some significant overlap in terminology. In particular, the word *dīq* ‘tightness’ both forms part of the definition in the *Lexicon* and figures prominently in Ḥunayn's translation of Galen's extended account of the meaning of the term in question.⁷⁷ If we turn to consider the entry for the Syriac equivalent *lhātā*, the significance of this can be clarified:

946:7 جةأ الربو صحه حنين. ح: هبة البهر اللهث

Lahātā, *asthma* (al-rabw). *Ḥunayn rectified it*. (According to) bar Serošway *laboured breathing* (al-buhr), *panting* (al-lahth).

In contrast to the entry for the Greek word at 227:13, the entry for the Syriac equivalent contains both Ḥunayn's preferred translation and the early Arabic translator's as well. Furthermore, bar Bahlul appears to attribute to Ḥunayn the

76. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 139-140.

77. Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, III 72.

introduction of the term *al-rabw* as the equivalent of *lhātā*.

This example presents an opportunity for speculation regarding the varying roles played by Greek and Syriac lexicography in the production of Ḥunayn's Arabic translations. The centuries-old Greek-to-Syriac translation tradition allowed for very close translations of Greek texts into Syriac. In the case of ἄσθμα/*lhātā/al-rabw*, the Syriac terminology established in this process seems to have constituted the reference according to which Arabic terminology was established in its turn. To the extent that the Arabic translations used standardized terminology, such a lexicographical process would have preceded the translation of the texts themselves. If a strong Syriac role in this process may be inferred to have been present in the broader work of translation, this would mean that a Syriac exemplar read simultaneously with the Greek original would have been an important instrument for the careful Arabic translator.

Yet as the example from Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* shows, the underlying Greek terminology was not effaced or forgotten in this process. Rather, precise etymological understanding of the Greek lexicon often was necessary for the accurate rendition of the more detailed works of Greek medicine and philosophy both into Syriac and into Arabic. Thus, bar Bahlul's entry for the term ἄσθματικοί seems to preserve notes used not for word-for-word translation, but rather for rendering detailed explanations of the term whenever it was encountered in the literature being translated. This suggests that Ḥunayn used a more complicated, tri-lingual Greek-Syriac-Arabic approach rather than relying solely upon either Greek or Syriac exemplars.

Section Three

Finally, for these words, both the Greek and the Syriac lexicography represent Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms* equally well.

3.1

αἷμα

132:10 {محل ٥ محل ٥} وهذا ذكر جبريل بن بختيشوع أن الدم اسمه باليونانية أم {محل ٥}

Ayaymā, this is blood (*dmā*). *Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū* said that the name of blood in Greek is *ay aymā*.

135:14 {محل ٥ محل ٥} هذا دم {محل ٥}

Aymā (according to bar Serošway, blood (*dmā*), *blood* (*al-dam*)).

636:27 {محل ٥ محل ٥} هذا دم {محل ٥}

Hemātos, and according to our teacher *hemā*, *blood* (*al-dam*).

This word is translated consistently in both Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and the Syriac translation, the former giving *al-dam* and the latter giving *dmā*, both of which mean 'blood'. The only exception in either work occurs in aphorism v. 33, where Ḥunayn's Arabic compresses the Greek phrase *αἷμα ἐκ τῶν ῥινῶν ῥυέν* 'blood flowing from the nostrils' into the single word *al-ru'āf* 'nosebleed'. The straightforward definitions of the Greek word are equivalent to the translations of the term in our texts.

278:19 اصحلا صلا هني و المرور ال اصلا

Aqrabeya in the *Book of Paradise*, this is rightness or addition.

Forms of ἀκριβής occur five times in the *Aphorisms*. In three cases found in aphorisms i. 4 and i. 5 that reference diet, both Ḥunayn's version and the Syriac translation employ consistent translations. For these instances the former gives *al-bāligh* 'extreme', while the latter employs the word *hattitā* 'truly'. For the occurrence of the adverbial form of the word in the phrase ἀκριβείην κράτισται 'are truly best' in aphorism i. 6, Ḥunayn's version translates with the single word *ajwad* 'best', while the Syriac version gives *hattitūtā ṭāḥ mitrān* 'are truly and entirely good'. Finally, in aphorism iv. 59 the adjective occurs in a description of fevers. Both the Arabic and Syriac versions here adopt different approaches from those given above. The Syriac gives *kaḏ saggi arikā* 'when it (the tertian fever) is very long', while the Arabic gives *aṭwal mā takūn* 'the longest (tertian fevers) that occur.

The Syriac translations as a whole are more literal than the Arabic translations due to the latter's omitting to translate the specific adverb in aphorism 1. 6. The entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* agree somewhat with these Syriac translations, but less so with the Arabic texts. Nor does the entry for the Syriac equivalent *hattitā* contain much more of direct relevance for them:

782:13 نبه الصحيح الخالص الصرف المحض اصلا. زاد المروزي راسخ تام. نبه الصحة خلاص

صرف حقيقة يقين. صلا الحقيقة. نبه ثابت راسخ محض صحيح يقين*

Hattitā, correct, sincere, pure (al-khāliṣ), uncut, pure (al-maḥḍ), (according to) Zakariya. *Al-Marwazī* adds firm, complete. *Hattitūtā*, sound, integral, pure, true, certain. *Hattitā* ṭ, true. *Hattitā*, established, firm, pure, correct, certain.

Neither the Greek nor the Syriac entries relate to Ḥunayn's translation. Furthermore, the rather severe differences between the two translations' renditions of ἀκριβής constitute evidence against Ḥunayn's authorship of the Syriac *Aphorisms*. This is also the most probable reason for the discrepancy between the Arabic translations and the Syriac lexicography.

3.3

ἀλφοί

﴿الله﴾ 178:17 ة ده صلا البهق

Alpo, this is tetter (*behqitā*), *tetter* (al-bahaq).

This term occurs in the *Aphorisms* a single time, in aphorism iii. 20. The main Syriac and Arabic versions both translate it using the same terms that are found in the entry above, *behqitā* and *al-bahaq*. The early Syriac translation for this aphorism also exists, and for this term it appears to give *ḥkākā* 'itch, mange'.⁸⁰ There is thus a clear correspondence between Ḥunayn's entry in bar Bahlul and the translations in both the Arabic and Syriac versions. This stands in contrast to the earlier Syriac translation, which appears to give evidence for a development toward greater lexicographical precision in the Syriac translation tradition.

Although the translation for this aphorism does not exist in any of the fragments of the early Arabic version, according to Ullmann the translator al-

80. Although some text of the aphorism has dropped out, it is likely that *ḥkākā* does translate ἀλφοί.

181:17 أَفْعَلُ إِسْبَ حِي هِنَةَ مَعَاً»

Āmā according to bar Serošway *accompanying* (ma'an).

This Greek adverb occurs once in the *Aphorisms*, in aphorism ii. 46. Ḥunayn translated it *ma'an* 'accompanying', while the Syriac translates *akhdā nehwon* 'at once'. Bar Serošway's Arabic definition in the *Lexicon* agrees exactly with the text of Ḥunayn's translation. Bar Bahlul's entry for the Syriac equivalent *akhdā* likewise agrees while giving some further relevant information:

155:22 أَصْبَا مَعَاً وَالَّذِي جَاءَ بِهِ حَنِينٌ فِي مَوْضِعٍ بِالْجُمْلَةِ»

Akhdā, *accompanying* (ma'an), and that which Ḥunayn introduced in one place, (namely) 'altogether' (bil-jumla).

3.5

ἀμόργη

184:1 أَمْرَجِي إِهْلًا وَحَرْوًا وَرَبَا عَكَرَ الزَّيْتِ حَرْوً. أَمْرَجِي حَتَّى رِبَا. وَحَرْوً وَرَبَا مَا

يرسب تحت الزيت اذا عصر من الزيتون»

Amorgē, the lees of the oil of the olive (*tetrā da-šārā d-zaytā*), the lees of oil ('akar al-zayt), in an old manuscript. *Amorgē*, the lees of oil (*mawayyē d-zaytā*). (According to) our teacher, the part of olive oil that settles, *that which settles at the bottom of oil when it is pressed from olives*.

A form of this Greek term appears in aphorism vii. 45, where it used figuratively to describe a flow of pus that is a sign of death in one suffering from a disease of

Although these do not reflect Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the Greek term, an entry in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* does:

84
الهماء الخاثر والثفل والعكر والكدر والدردى.

Tṭirā, concentrates, lees, dregs, impurities, sediments.

None of the Greek or Syriac entries in bar Bahlul agree exactly with Ḥunayn's Arabic translation. Since my way of proceeding relies on bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and not bar 'Ali's, the agreement between the latter's entry for *tṭirā* and Ḥunayn's translation of ἀμόργη in the *Aphorisms* does not bear upon the placement of this example in the organization of the chapter.

3.6

ἀνήρ

199:6 ܐܢܘܐ ܥܡܠܐ ܟܚܐ ܥܢ ܐܢܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܪܝܠ ܘܘܢܐ

Andrā, in Greek, a man. In a manuscript andrānā, man.

210:8 ܐܢܐ ܚܐ ܥܡܠܐ ܟܚܐ ܥܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܪܝܠ ܘܘܢܐ

Anayr, bar Serošway, man, man. In a manuscript anayd.

In aphorism v. 69, the word ἀνδράσιν occurs. The Syriac translates it *b-gabrê*, and Ḥunayn's Arabic gives for it *fī al-rijāl*. In this case, all three words are synonymous with one another in a strong sense, and so it is not very surprising to

84. Gottheil, *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, II 475:12.

see the translations in agreement with the definitions in the *Lexicon*. A brief entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the Syriac equivalent further confirms it:

447:4 ܘܢܗܘܐ ܪܗܘܠܐ

Gabrā, a man (rajul).

3.7

ἄνθραξ (ἄνθραξ)

216:15 ܘܢܗܘܐ ܪܗܘܠܐ ܘܢܗܘܐ ܪܗܘܠܐ ܘܢܗܘܐ ܪܗܘܠܐ

Antrāqēs, bar Serošway embers (gumrē), embers (jamr).

This word is found in aphorism v. 11, where the odour given off when the sputa of consumptive patients is poured over embers is mentioned as a sign of death. The Syriac translates it with *gumrē*, while the Arabic gives the etymologically-related *jamr*, both of which mean ‘embers’. These translations agree precisely with bar Serošway's definition at 216:15.

Ullmann notices several contexts wherein ἄνθραξ signifies ‘carbuncle’, a disease of the eye, including one citation from Galen's *On Simple Drugs Book Six* and four from Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*.⁸⁵ The Arabic translations for these occurrences of the term vary noticeably from one another. Although three of them give *jamr* or *jamra*, in one case the word is transliterated, and in another a different name is given to it, *al-nār al-fārisī* ‘Persian fire’. Although the single

85. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 112.

Syriac translation of ἄνθραξ in the *Aphorisms* has nothing to do with this sense of the word, it allows us to refer to the entry for the Syriac term found in bar Bahlul, which does relate to it:

466:20 جمر. جمر. الجدرى وقد سمى فولوس جنساً من الخراجات بهذا الاسم. جمر. جمر
 وذكرها ايضاً فيما يخرج في العين. هـ ب ح: صفة جمر. صفت ختبا بهج بصبه نار فارسيّة وكذلك قال مسيح أي
 الجمره وهي النار الفارسيّة»

Gumrā, ember (jamr). Gumrē, smallpox (al-jadrī). Paul has named a type of swelling by this name. Gmurtā, ember. He also mentioned it among those things that come forth in the eye. And according to bar Serošway the common cancer (šuhnē bišê 'yādē) which occurs due to burning, Persian fire (nār fārsīya). And likewise Masīḥ said this is al-jamra, which is Persian fire.

This entry provides evidence that allows for the implications of preceding scholarship to be clarified. Pormann's account of this term in his work on Paul of Aegina notes two of the senses found here. Specifically, in Ḥunayn's *Ten Treatises on the Eye*, ἄνθραξ is found defined as *al-jadrī* 'smallpox'.⁸⁶ Pormann calls this text 'corrupt', evidently on the reasonable grounds that smallpox is not an eye disease. Bar Bahlul's entry for the Syriac equivalent *gumrā* cited here makes these two senses of ἄνθραξ homonymous on the authority of Paul, and is thus the likely source for the confusion noted by Pormann. It may be hoped, furthermore, that detailed consideration of the translations of the Greek term in Dioscorides' work on the basis of this entry would reveal the rationale behind their variations as well.

86. Pormann, *Oriental Tradition*, 189.

the Arabic *khurāj* in its metaphorical logic of derivation, both being derived from verbs meaning ‘to go out’.

None of the lemmas containing this term survive in the fragments of the early Arabic translation. Ullmann notices several translations of this term, however, and the renderings taken from Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six allow for the development of the Arabic tradition to be considered in the light of the entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. In these three examples, the early translator prefers in each case *al-awrām* ‘inflammations’, while Ḥunayn used equivalents like *al-kharājāt* and *al-dubayla* that tack closely with the examples from the *Aphorisms* given above.⁸⁸ Thus Ḥunayn's and Paul's definitions in the entry at 251:24 relate more closely to the early Arabic translation, while bar Serošway's definitions there are closer to Ḥunayn's translation.

The entries found in the *Lexicon* reflect several senses of this Greek word. The single-word definition at 251:23 would fit well in a working translator's glossary and matches Ḥunayn's preference in the *Aphorisms* exactly. The entry at 251:24 introduces significantly more symptomatological detail. Although Arabic predominates, the most common Syriac equivalent of ἀπόστημα found in the *Aphorisms*, *qub̄yānā*, is found near the beginning in a definition attributable to Ḥunayn. It may be noted that the specification in the entry that ἀποστήματα/*qub̄yānē* occur ‘on the outside of the body’ does not agree with the usage found in the Greek original of the *Aphorisms* or in the Syriac translation, if it is to be taken as a general characterization.

The ophthalmological entry at 253:21 is strongly related to an entry of bar Bahlul's on ἀγγίλωψ/αιγίλωψ ‘lachrymal abscess’ discussed by Pormann in his

88. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 125-126.

1721:6 مَقْبِلِ ابِ سَمِ احْتِقَان. هذ هتة صلا وُهتعا وُقحا صسا ل، وُه ققها أورام حارة جراحات.
 المروري الخراجات وأخرون نزلات دُبَلات*

Qubyanā, according to Ḥunayn *congestion* (iḥtiqān). And (according to) bar Serošway, any moisture that gathers together between two layers (of skin). *Hot swellings, lesions. (According to) al-Marwazī abscesses* (al-kharājāt). (*According to) others catarrhs* (nazalāt), *ulcers* (dubalāt).

While these Syriac entries refer to words whose scope of meaning is somewhat narrower than that of ἀπόστημα, they display a greater variety of terminology, more direct explanation of medical phenomena, and a strong tendency to branch out into discussions of broader medical theory. In the entry for *qubyanā*, bar Serošway's description of the term is simple and direct and does not resort either to exotic terminology or to the listing of synonyms. On the other hand, al-Marwazī's account of Ḥunayn's teaching on Hippocrates' doctrine of the crisis in the entry for *mapaqtā* extends the discussion beyond the everyday treatment of nagging sores into the significance of such sores for the prognosis of disease. This entry again shows the extent to which Syriac medical discourse had been nativized. Rather than referring Ḥunayn's account of Hippocrates' teaching to the Greek word, bar Bahlul records it for the Syriac equivalent instead. Despite the inherent interest of the Syriac entries, both the Greek and the Syriac lexicography represent Ḥunayn's translations of ἀπόστημα in the *Aphorisms* equally well.

3.9

ἀρθρίτις

98:25 *إوتلهيم أبو حة صنة يات هتتلا وجع المفاصل*

Awtrītis, according to bar Serošway pain of the joints (*keb šaryātā*), *pain of the joints* (wajʿ al-mafāṣil).

Forms of ἀρθρῖτις occur twice in the *Aphorisms*. Both the Syriac and Arabic translations agree with bar Serošway's entry in the *Lexicon*. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation does introduce a slight variation of style by using the singular in the phrase *wajʿ al-mafāṣil* 'pain of the joints' to translate ἀρθρῖτιδες in aphorism iii. 16, but the plural *awjāʿ al-mafāṣil* 'pains of the joints' to translate ἀρθρῖτικά in iii. 20. The Syriac uses the same form *keb šaryātā* 'pain of the joints' in each case, as does the fragment of the early Syriac translation of iii. 20.

A definition of the Syriac equivalent reads as follows:

857:9 ... يات هتتلا وجع المفاصل*

Keḅ šaryātā, *pain of the joints* (wajʿ al-mafāṣil).

Thus in this straightforward example, the Greek and Syriac lexicography represent Ḥunayn's Arabic translation equally well.

3.10

ἀριστερά

299:22 *إوتلهيم أبو حة صنة الشمال اليسار*

Arsitrā, the left. According to bar Serošway *the left, the left side*.

(al-iḥlīl). *Deḵrā*, a male sheep. *Banay deḵrē*, the children of the ram, which are lambs. *Deḵrē*, children of the ibex (*banay daysē*), a ram, wild goats (al-thayātil).

3.12

ἀρχή

293:5 **أَوَّلَ مَا جَاءَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا نَذِيرٌ لِّلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَتَى الْبِلَادَ الْكَافِرَةَ وَقَاتَلَ الْأَقْدَامَ الْمُجْرِمِينَ**

Arkā, in the Greek *arkā* means beginning (*ṣurāyā*) or heading, *beginning* (*ibtidāʿ*), *the rightful leader of the nations*. According to bar Serošway, in Greek it is ‘*arkānā*’.

293:19 **أَوَّلَ مَا جَاءَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا نَذِيرٌ لِّلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا**

Arākay Ebrāyā, that is, he was called leader of the Hebrews.

304:1 **أَوَّلَ مَا جَاءَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا نَذِيرٌ لِّلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا**

Arši, this is beginning (*ṣurāyā*), heading, *beginning* (*ibtidāʿ*), *heading*.

Forms of ἀρχή occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac translates with forms of *ṣurāyā* ‘beginning’, while Ḥunayn's Arabic gives forms of *al-awwal* ‘beginning’. Al-Bitṛīq's usual equivalent for these instances was *badʿ* ‘beginning’. The only exception in the latter is found in the translation of aphorism i. 12, where the phrase *min awwal al-maraḍ* is employed.

The entries taken from the *Lexicon* converge somewhat with the examples found in the *Aphorisms*. Both *ṣurāyā* and *al-ibtidāʿ* are represented in the entries at 293:5 and 304:1, each of which is attributable to Ḥunayn. However, Ḥunayn's

245:20 «حسبنا ضعيف»

Astênis according to bar Serošway, weak (*mḥilā*), weak (ḏaʿīf).

Forms of ἀσθενής occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation employs words related to the verb *ḏaʿūfa* 'to be weak' in all instances. The Syriac version for its part uses the adjective *mḥilā* 'weak' in all instances. Despite the fact that both display a relatively similar degree of regularity, Ḥunayn's version tends slightly more toward expanding the texts than does the Syriac translation. In aphorism ii. 49, for example, Ḥunayn translated the phrase κῆν ὧσιν ἀσθενέες ἢ γέροντες with *wa-in kāna ḏaʿīfata al-badan aw shaykha* 'and if they are weak or old', using the inner accusative *ḏaʿīfata al-badan* which literally means 'weak in the body'. The Syriac translation of this phrase is *ap sābā itayhon aw mḥilē* 'though they are old or weak'. The Syriac text is also perhaps notable in that the two adjectives are in reverse order from the Greek and Arabic versions.

Ullmann also notes a text from Book Six of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* that contains a form of ἀσθενής. There, the early translator al-Biṭrīq and Ḥunayn both translated the phrase ἀσθενεστέρα τὴν δύναμιν in the same way, giving *ḏaʿīf al-quwwa* 'weak in strength' for it.⁹³ The entry at 1054:1 bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the Syriac equivalent *mḥilā* further confirms these terms' synonymity:

1054:1 «حسبنا ضعيف. حسبه ال ضعف»⁹⁴

Mḥilā, weak (ḏaʿīf). *Mḥilutā*, weakness (ḏaʿīf).

93. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 139.

94. Duval: ضَعْف. This entry is also cited in unit (2.5) above.

Nor again is it found in the entry for *ʿamtānā* in bar ʿAli's *Lexicon*:

نجفها الظلام. والظلمة ضباب. ٥٥٥ سمعها.⁹⁶

ʿAmtānā, gloom, darkness, mist. It is darkness (hešokā).

As in the discussions of ἀκριβής and ἀρχή above (units 3.2 and 3.12, respectively), Ḥunayn's preferred Arabic translation in the *Aphorisms* is present neither in the Greek lexicography nor that of the relevant Syriac equivalent. Furthermore, as in the cases of ἄνδρος and αὐτόματον (units 1.2 and 1.3, respectively), the Syriac version employs a phrase rather than a single word in translating ἀγλυώδεες. This may be the reason it escaped representation in the lexicons. On the other hand it is impossible to rule out that Ḥunayn preferred a different Syriac word from *ʿamtānā* to translate ἀγλυώδεες in his Syriac version of the *Aphorisms*. The word *hešokā* ‘darkness’ mentioned in the entry of bar ʿAli's above is be a natural place to begin searching for a potential alternative. A relatively long, unattributed entry for that word runs as follows:

779:3 يبعقل ٥ صا اعبا هقكنا وبتاا ويجانبتا محببها ه صلا وبعها به صجرهال وبعها الظلمة. فحسب
: حجل. ا س ه و فحسب حستب ه ححبتح به يظلم عينك ويذيب نفسك. فحسب سمعها وحلا ححبتح هجعا.
ا س ه و حبت ححلا محبب ه فحسب المساء يروح ممسى. يبعقل اناة لجالا وبعها نجما. و صجرهال وبعها
ححبتح. يجانبتح لجالا. ححلا وبعها صلا ه. ه وبعها ححبتح. ححلا وبعها صلا ححبتح
سمعها. الا ا ححبت ححله و ححلا ححه فحسبوا. ه وبعها ححبتح وبعها ححبتح. والا ا ححبت ححبتح
ححبتح لا ه وبعها سمعها. والا ه صلا اناة سمعها. ححبتح ححبتح وبعها ا ححبت ححبتح
ححبتح سمعها. وبعها ححبتح وبعها لا ححبتح. ححبتح ححبتح وبعها ححبتح. ه وبعها ححبتح وبعها ححبتح

96. Gottheil ed., *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, II 220:13.

وخذ اسم حبب هذا منه الظلمة. ما هاد سعه صا اب وانتم اجنه حبها به ومع لجللا وبعصا انبصر. هلهصا
 صفعصا صبا اذن وامله سب صج صحا صتا صبقصا واباه جعلاصا صهصا واسلمهصا. صصصا. هاجحا. صوا. هقحا. هانوا.
 مطلقا. يبعجا»

Hešokā, this is a fluid substance that hinders vision, whose action and sensibility are known through the absence of light. *Darkness* (al-zulma). *Maḥšek*, to darken, as in ‘it darkens your eyes and consumes your soul’, *it darkens your eyes and consumes your soul*. *Mḥaššek*, the darkness of the place of the setting of the sun, as in ‘he approached Palestine early and late’. *The evening, he went in the evening*. *Hešokā* is the shadow of a dense body, which consists of the absence of light. It is defined as a shadow because it has no substance, and it is of dense bodies because not all bodies bring about darkness, but only those that are dense and which have no transparency in them. Its consisting in the absence of light means that, but for the complete absence of light, there would be no darkness. For darkness is that which does not have substance. It is ascertained from this (example): If someone pitches a tent at mid-day, and it mostly covers him, such that light entirely does not reach him, simultaneously there is darkness in it. But if it had substance, whensoever someone sought to do so, he might bring it into being.⁹⁷ *Darkness*. Again, *hešokā* according to the people, they say it is an accident that occurs on account of the shadow of a body. But the blessed commentator⁹⁸ said that it is a substance, one of the seven primary substances that

97. See Aristotle's account of darkness as a privation, given in his definition of light in *On the Soul*, Book II.7, 418b9. See also Jean de Groot, *Aristotle and Philoponus on Light* (London: Routledge (1991), *passim*.

98. This would seem to be a reference to Theodore of Mopsuestia, an influential theologian of the Church of the East. See Alphone Mingana ed., *Commentary of*

come to be in the sixth, which are heaven, earth, fire, water, air, angels, and darkness.

In this very interesting entry, two contradictory accounts of the nature of darkness are presented side-by-side. One of these may easily be linked with the Peripatetic conception of darkness, while the other is presented within a theological context. In my opinion it is likely that Ḥunayn was responsible for the Peripatetic-leaning material in the entry, while bar Bahlul himself appears to prefer the theological account.

Another, shorter entry contains a word closely related to Ḥunayn's equivalent for ἀχλύς in the *Aphorisms*, *ghishāwa*:

780:15 *ييمض الظلمة. يبتقيل الدوار والسدر. هاب حينما الظلمة الغشوة. ن يكما بلا صهوا ظلمة ليل بلا قمر*
Heškā, darkness. Heškānē, dizziness, vertigo. According to Zakariya, *darkness, covering (ghishwa)*. In a manuscript, a night with no moon, *the darkness of a night without a moon.*

Whatever the case may be, neither the Greek lexicography nor that for the Syriac equivalent found in the *Aphorisms* accords with Ḥunayn's translation of the *Aphorisms*.

Conclusion

The composition of the Lexicon's entries

Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Nicene Creed (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1932), 16.

Before proceeding to consider the relative importance of the Greek and Syriac lexicography for Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, some analysis of the composition of the entries of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* may prove instructive. For this reason I shall consider here the quantities of definitions contained in the Greek and Syriac entries and the frequency with which the various authors cited by bar Bahlul appear in them. Although these counts are approximate, rely significantly on my subjective judgment, and in a few places in the examples of Syriac lexicography are taken from abridged entries, they still should provide a general idea concerning the varying patterns of Greek and Syriac scholarship discoverable in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*.

In the selections above, I presented 41 entries containing definitions of Greek words. These 41 entries contain 65 headwords. Of these 65 headwords, 27 were left unattributed by the compiler, 10 are referred to 'a manuscript', and four are attributed expressly to Ḥunayn. Thus, following bar Bahlul's own statement regarding unattributed definitions discussed in the opening section of this chapter, 41 of the 65 definitions of these Greek entries are attributable to Ḥunayn.⁹⁹ Of the remaining, 18 are attributed to bar Serošway, two to Sergius, two to Paul of Aegina, two to 'others', and one to Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ.

38 entries for Syriac words occur above, containing 134 definitions. Of these 134, 65 were left unattributed, 10 are referred to 'a manuscript', and six are attributed expressly to Ḥunayn. All told, then, 81 are attributable to Ḥunayn. Of

99. Although the attribution to Ḥunayn of unattributed entries may of course be challenged in any specific case, I see no reason to dispute the general validity of bar Bahlul's statement.

the remainder, 20 are referred to bar Serošway, ten were provided by bar Bahlul himself with the phrase ‘I say’ (*aqūl*), seven are referred to Zakariya, five to al-Marwazī, four to the *Book of Paradise*, and three to ‘others’.

A little less than two-thirds of the entries in both categories are attributable to Ḥunayn, so bar Bahlul's level of reliance upon the famous translator may be said to be comparable in both Greek and Syriac. The two categories naturally differ in the lists of authors to whom bar Bahlul attributed definitions. Five authors are mentioned as sources for the definitions of Greek words: Ḥunayn, bar Serošway, Sergius, Paul, and Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū'. For the definitions of Syriac words, however, eight authors are cited: Ḥunayn, bar Serošway, bar Bahlul himself, Zakariya, al-Marwazī, Paul, the *Book of Paradise*, and Masīḥ. This points to a readily-intuitable fact, namely that the number of Syriac-speaking authors working in Greek was less than that of such authors working in Syriac during this period.

Several patterns emerge in comparing these two sets of figures. Most obviously, the Syriac entries tend to include more headwords than do the Greek entries, or, to put it another way, the Greek entries tend to define very specific senses of the words in question. Furthermore, the definitions for Syriac headwords are more likely to be extended beyond the simple listing of synonyms. In general, there tends to be a reasonably clear distinction between the glosses attributed to the various authors. In particular, regarding the problem of the relationship between the lexicography of Ḥunayn and that of bar Serošway mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, it appears that the two authors usually offer independent interpretations. However, there are examples of significant overlap between the two, as in the discussion of ἀνέλπιστος in unit (2.8).

Greek lexicography, Syriac lexicography, and the Arabic translations

While numerous Greek words identified by Duval in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* are also present in the *Aphorisms*, they represent a definite minority of all the words found in the Hippocratic work. Only about a third of the words beginning with *alpha* are also present in the *Lexicon*. In considering these entries systematically, furthermore, this proportion suffers attrition from various causes. Some of these result from Duval's identifications, which at times are or appear to be little more than guesses. Others may be proved incorrect with closer scrutiny, although this is relatively rare. Also significant are Duval's identifications which declare etymologically-Greek Syriac words to be Greek without qualification, as for example regarding the entry for ἀγωγή treated above in unit (2.2).

Despite all of these qualifications, it is clear that relevant examples of Greek-to-Arabic lexicography are discoverable in the *Lexicon*. That said, it is also clear that a significantly larger number of Syriac-to-Arabic entries of the *Lexicon* of bar Bahlul (and that of bar 'Ali as well, where I have cited it) are representative of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*. When the Greek-centred approach I have followed in this chapter is taken into account, the latter point is only made sharper. Since the *Lexicon* is much more broadly representative of the Syriac language than it is of the Greek, an approach to Ḥunayn's translation that took the words of the Syriac *Aphorisms* as its starting point would very likely display a similar pattern agreement between the lexicography and the Arabic translations.

This evidence tends to indicate that Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* was made with some sort of reference to a Syriac exemplar. However,

this does not necessarily mean that the work was translated solely from Ḥunayn's Syriac version. It is here that the Greek entries of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* can really contribute to the argument. This may be seen in the discussion of the translations of the word ἄσθματικοί (unit 2.10 of this chapter), perhaps the strongest example given above. There, the Arabic equivalent in the *Aphorisms* is found in the entry for the Syriac equivalent, and bar Bahlul adds that Ḥunayn had 'rectified' the relationship between the two languages. While the Greek entry contains neither the Syriac or Arabic equivalents, it does reflect quite well Ḥunayn's rendition of Galen's explanation of the sense of ἄσθμα in his commentary on the aphorism. Even with the caveat that Ḥunayn composed his Syriac translation of the Hippocratic lemmas separately from his Syriac version of Galen's *Commentary*, this example still gives evidence that a certain division of labour between Greek and Syriac lexicography was a part of Ḥunayn's translation praxis.

Here too, however, the continuing uncertainty regarding the authorship of the Syriac translation is keenly felt. If it were certain that Ḥunayn did in fact compose the work, comparisons amongst the Greek original and the several translations could be expected to determine quite clearly whether he relied more on the Greek original or the Syriac in producing his Arabic version. As it is, however, if we are to assume that Ḥunayn was the author of the Syriac *Aphorisms*, there begins to appear a certain inconsistency in the evidence. Despite some exceptions, a strong relationship exists between bar Bahlul's Syriac-Arabic lexicography and Ḥunayn's Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*. However, there also exist at times very severe differences between the textual interpretations of the Syriac and Arabic versions of the Hippocratic work, as well as important differences in style. Thus, although we may be reasonably sure that a Syriac version played some role in the production of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, it

seems just as unlikely, if not more so, that the extant Syriac *Aphorisms* was the text he actually used.

With that said, the examples presented above demonstrate clearly that the Syriac lexicons contain an abundance of material relevant to Ḥunayn's Greek-to-Arabic translation. Despite often strong variations between Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and the Syriac version, the equivalents found in the latter often provide a reasonably good guide for uncovering Ḥunayn's Syriac-Arabic glossography. Even when it seems clear that an equivalent given in the Syriac *Aphorisms* was not preferred by Ḥunayn in his own Syriac translation, the content of bar Bahlul's entries may be used to trace possible alternatives. With the general relationship between these translations and the Syriac lexicons thus clarified, it should be possible to make informed use of the latter in order to make reference to the important Syriac elements of Ḥunayn's translation praxis.

CHAPTER TWO

Greek loan-words in the Syriac *Aphorisms* and Ḥunayn's Arabic translation techniques

In the previous chapter, I examined the relationships between the Syriac and Arabic translations of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and the *Syriac Lexicon* of Ḥasan bar Bahlul with the primary aim of gaining an understanding of the part played by Greek and Syriac lexicography in the production of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Arabic translations. Building on that material, in this second chapter I seek to elucidate further the relationship between the lexicographical scholarship of Ḥunayn and his school and the translator's approach to medical translation.

In a number of important contributions, Sebastian Brock has traced the development of Syriac receptivity to Greek style and vocabulary.¹⁰⁰ A spirit of admiration for the cultural achievements and intellectual expertise of classical Greek writers found its expression in the changes Syriac writers made to their language over the course of several centuries. Grammatical constructions and idioms borrowed from Greek came to be more and more prominent in the usage

100. Most recently, in Sebastian Brock, 'Charting the Hellenization of a Literary Culture: The Case of Syriac', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3(1-2) (2015). See also *idem.*, 'From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning', in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, Nina Garsoïan et al. eds., (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1980); as well as papers collected in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London: Variorum, 1984).

of Syriac writers and thinkers. As part of this process, Greek loan-words came to be relied upon ever more greatly in place or in absence of native Syriac equivalents.

As will be demonstrated below, there is strong evidence to suggest that this receptivity to Greek vocabulary was not shared by the Arabic literary audience. In fact, in his Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*, Ḥunayn very often made extensive efforts to avoid using vocabulary derived from the Greek. This is one of the most salient differences between the Syriac and Arabic approaches to the translation of the *Aphorisms*.

Duval's Greek index to bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* regularly includes what are in effect etymologically-Greek Syriac words. Because of this, one of the more obvious uses of this index is to trace the effects of the contrasting Syriac and Arabic approaches to Greek loan-words. In order to do this I have identified numerous examples of translations in the Syriac *Aphorisms* wherein the Greek word is in effect left untranslated in the Syriac version. In these cases, that is, a Greek loan-word in Syriac stands for the very Greek word from which it was derived. I have proceeded to analyze the translations and lexicographical treatments of these words along similar lines to those adopted in the previous chapter. Rather than focusing primarily upon the part played by the lexicography in these relationships, however, here I categorize the material according to the character of Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of these words.

In the first part, I present studies of Greek words whose Arabic translations in Ḥunayn's version of the *Aphorisms* display a high degree of instability, usually owing to the translator's use of clause-length explicating translations. In the second part, I treat Greek words whose Arabic translations by Ḥunayn in the *Aphorisms* are relatively stable, but which show evidence for the translator's

having worked to establish new terminological equivalents. In the third part, I present Greek words for which both the Arabic and the Syriac translations either deploy nativized equivalents derived from that self-same Greek word, or for which there is no reason not to assume continuity between Ḥunayn's Arabic translation techniques and the earlier stages of the translation movement.

In adopting this method of organization, I hope first and foremost to point out potential consequences of Syriac's Hellenizing tendency for Ḥunayn's Arabic translations. In a broader context, these consequences could be shown to represent a kind of negative Syriac influence upon the translations. These studies would then constitute test cases which could be used to answer certain questions. Firstly, how deep was the influence of the trend toward adoption of Greek vocabulary in Syriac medicine? In other words, did the Syriac glossographers treat these Greek words as fully native, or were etymologically-Syriac equivalents resorted to in order to explain them? If not, to what extent did the absence of a significant effort in developing native vocabulary on the part of Syriac translators influence or limit Ḥunayn's Arabic translation technique?

Many of the Greek words that Syriac medical writers adopted were relatively central to the art of medicine. For this reason, detailed consideration of these words allows for a closer approach to the history of medicine strictly speaking than was afforded by the words treated in the first chapter. This approach thus will regularly display the value of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the history of Syriac and Arabic medicine and medical translation.

Section One

In this section, I compare the translations and lexicographical background of

translation, *infītāḥ afwāḥ al-ʿurūq min asfal* ('the opening of the mouths of the veins from below'). As will be seen in other places below, this aphorism in particular contains several exegetical translations. It may be that Ḥunayn consciously preferred to explicate here in response to the context of Galen's commentary on the text.

This explicating translation appears all the more exceptional when the broader translation tradition as treated by Ullmann is taken into account. Along with the citation of one of the aphorisms from book six mentioned above, the translations of forms of αἰμορροΐς from three other works are cited in his *Wörterbuch*. All of these likewise employ a form of *al-bawāsīr*.¹⁰²

Turning to the entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, the definition found at 616:7 explains the symptoms of the disease without providing a single-word equivalent. The Syriac and Arabic glosses correspond to one another almost exactly. The only significant variation is the addition of the word 'fine' (*al-daḡīq*) to the Arabic definition. The definition provides a technical explanation of the phenomenon which, while detailed, does not overlap significantly with the exegetical translation in Ḥunayn's version of aphorism iii. 30. In contrast, the definition given at 637:5 simply provides *al-bawāsīr* as a synonym for the Greek word, and thus could easily have been drawn from a translator's working glossary.

1.2

εἰλεός

102. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 82-83.

القولنج المعروف بإيلاوس وتفسيره المستعاز منه vi. 44

The colic known as *tlā'ūs* and whose explanation is 'that from which refuge is sought' (*al-musta'āḍh minhu*)

القولنج المستعاز منه vii. 10

The colic from which refuge is sought (*al-musta'āḍ minhu*)

In the first example, Ḥunayn gives a description and a transliteration of the Greek term without giving the disease a native Arabic name. In the second, he both gives the transliteration and provides an Arabic name for the disease. In the third, he writes only the Arabic name given in the second example. This could be explained by saying that, when Ḥunayn began his translation of the *Aphorisms*, no accepted Arabic equivalent for εἰλεός existed. Being discontent with the transliteration of the Greek, he endeavoured to introduce a new Arabic name for the term.

A definition attributable to Ḥunayn is found in each of the two relevant entries from bar Bahlul. Arabic predominates in the first, while Syriac predominates in the second. Both describe symptoms of the disease, but the two descriptions do not overlap significantly. The Syriac definition is somewhat more detailed than the Arabic. Neither provides a single native name for the disease, but both suggest calques that are roughly equivalent to one another.¹⁰⁴

There is some evidence that the 13th-century commentator al-Kīlānī had recourse either to bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* or to work that drew upon it. Al-Kīlānī begins his discussion of εἰλεός in his commentary on aphorism iii. 22 by

104. Pormann, *Oriental Tradition*, 57-58.

in the approaches to translating this word found in other Arabic sources. Whereas in the Arabic version of Aristotle's *History of Animals* *al-tharb* serves in place of forms of ἐπίπλοος, the word *al-marāqq* ‘diaphragm’ is employed in the Arabic version of the same author's *Parts of Animals*.¹⁰⁶

1.4

κίνδυνος

1737:17 مہہہہہہ ضيق شدة خطر جهد»

Qundinus, narrowness, severity, danger (khaṭar), struggle.

1769:11 مہہہہہہہ حى ضيق أو شدة. اہہ ہہ ہلاک ہاہہ حہ ہہہہہہہہ الضرورة»

Qyundinus in a manuscript, narrowness or violence. According to Paul, destruction (halāk), and according to bar Serošway, harm.

1775:7 مہہہہہہہہ الجهد الخطر الضيق الشدة»

Qindunus, struggle, danger (khaṭar), narrowness, severity.

In the Syriac version of the *Aphorisms*, the various forms of κίνδυνος occurring in the *Aphorisms* are all translated with the self-same word borrowed from the Greek. This approach extends to the compounds ἐπικίνδυνος and ἀκίνδυνος as well. In his Arabic translation, Ḥunayn adopted varying approach. He used the equivalent *al-khaṭar* ‘danger’ most frequently, but at times preferred instead phrases like *lā yu’min ‘alayh* ‘(the patient) is not safe from’.

106. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 259.

Translations of forms of ἐπικίνδυνος and ἀκίνδυνος survive in the early Arabic version of aphorism iv. 43. The former is rendered there with the phrase *aqrab ilā halāk* ‘closer to destruction’ while the latter is translated *ab‘ad ilā halāk* ‘further from destruction’. Importantly, the use of *halāk* here places al-Biṭrīq’s approach to translating κίνδυνος in close agreement with the definition of the word attributed to Paul of Aegina in bar Bahlul’s entry at 1769:11. In contrast, Ḥunayn’s usage in the *Aphorisms*, *al-khaṭar*, occurs in the unattributed entries from the *Lexicon* cited above.

1.5

κίρσός

1781:9 منه ام و الخلط الاسود الذي يحدث في عروق الساقين. يسميه أهل الشام الدالية وهو العرق المدنيّ. ويقال له أيضاً منه ❖

Qirsu according to our teacher, *black humours that occur in the veins of the legs*. *The folk of Syria call it ‘al-dāliya’, which is varicose veins* (‘irq al-madīnī, lit. *veins of the city-dweller*’). *It is also called qnaw*.

1848:18 منه ام ح منه العرق المدنيّ ❖

Qrsu according to bar Serošway, *varicose veins*.

Forms of the word κίρσός occur three times in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac version gives a form of the borrowed Greek word in each case. Ḥunayn’s Arabic translation adopts a different approach for each instance. In aphorism vi. 21, Ḥunayn employed the translation *ittisā‘ al-‘urūq allatī tu‘raf bil-dawālī* ‘the expansion of the veins that is known as varicose veins (*al-dawālī*)’. Forms of

κίρσός occur twice in aphorism vi. 34, and for the first of these, the translator used a different explicative translation, *al-‘urūq allatī tattasī ‘allatī tu‘raf bil-dawālī* ‘veins which have expanded that are known as varicose veins (*al-dawālī*)’. For the second, the single word *al-dawālī* serves.

In the entry for κίρσός at 1781:9 in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, Ḥunayn gives an aetiology for the disease and then mentions two different names for it. One of these is *al-dāliya*, the singular of *al-dawālī*, which he links to the ‘folk of Syria’. He explains this word with the phrase *‘irq al-madīnī* ‘veins of the city-dweller’. Another entry for κίρσός in Duval's Greek index to bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* begins with a native Syriac name for the disease, *dalāyṭā*, and reads as follows:

577:2 وكلم العريش والعروق التي تنبع في الساقين المعروفة بالدوالي وباللبنانية من هذه قورسوس الاغصان الطويلة التي في الكرمة الممتدة. وكلمه اوجمه حارجل قضبانها. اسم اصنا ه اسم ح: صنة وكلمه محدهقا وصحلا وضحم حلالنا ه صعلجصم ولا صقسا. كحها استبا وه الاصنه املة اغصان الكرمة التي تتعرش»
Dalāyṭā, bowers, and the veins which emerge in the legs known as al-dawālī (al-‘urūq allatī tanba‘ fī al-sāqayn al-ma‘rūf bil-dawālī), and in Greek qirsus, qūrsūs. Branches in the vine that are outstretched. In a manuscript, dalāyṭāh armyaṭ b-ar‘ā (its branches extended in the earth), its branches. According to Zakariya and according to bar Serošway dalāyṭā, the shoots of the vine which arise upon the tree and are left without pruning. According to others, tamnos (θάμνος) is the branches of the vine that are trellised.

The initial description of varicose veins in this entry agrees with Ḥunayn's translations of κίρσός in the *Aphorisms* in important respects. In this case, the Syriac word *dalāyṭā* serves as a locus for the establishment of the Arabic

equivalent *al-dāliya*.¹⁰⁷ The following definitions suggest the metaphorical extension of the sense of ‘vine-shoots’ or ‘trellised vines’ to the veins on the legs of those suffering from the disease. It could be argued that the entry at 1781:9 indicates that Ḥunayn established *al-dāliya* in literary Arabic medical terminology. His attribution of the usage to *ahl al-shām* ‘the folk of Syria’ may refer to speakers of Syriac, or alternatively to Arabic speakers in Syria who had taken the Syriac word over into their vernacular.

1.6

λήθαργος

969:18 حَمَلٌ فِي ضَلَالٍ. حَمَلٌ فِي نِسْيَانٍ. حَمَلٌ فِي نِسْيَانٍ حَمَلٌ فِي نِسْيَانٍ بِالنِّسْيَانِ

Liṭargo, wanderers (ḍullāl). *Liṭārgos*, this is forgetfulness. *Liṭargiqā`ūt*, forgetfully, *forgetfully* (bil-nisyān).

Λήθαργος occurs in the *Aphorisms* once, in aphorism iii. 30, in the form of the plural substantive λήθαργοι. Its context is a list of diseases that occur in middle age. The Syriac gives the borrowed Greek word, while Ḥunayn's Arabic gives a five-word explicative translation, *al-ḥummā allatī yakūnu ma`ahā al-sahar* (the fever with which insomnia occurs). This example again seems to emphasize the lengths to which Ḥunayn went in avoiding the inclusion of transliterated Greek terms in his version of the *Aphorisms*.

Ullmann notes translations of this word and the related form ληθαργικός.¹⁰⁸

107. *Al-dāliya* is derived from *dalāyṭā*, according to Brockelmann.

108. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 391.

One of these is an occurrence of the word in Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, the context of which is given as a fragment taken from al-Rāzī's *Hāwī*. Although Mimura's edition of Galen's work gives a substantially different text from that found in the *Wörterbuch*, they do agree that in this context Ḥunayn gave a transliteration of the Greek word rather than providing a native equivalent.¹⁰⁹ Several citations from the Arabic version of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* likewise transliterate this Greek word. One example from Book 11 of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* gives a native equivalent. There, the phrase τὰ ληθαργικὰ καὶ καταφορικὰ πάντα πάθη is translated *fī jamī 'ūlal al-nisyān aw fī subāt* 'in all the diseases of forgetfulness or in sleeping sickness'.

Of all the available translations, this last is the closest to any of the definitions of the term collected by bar Bahlul, whereas Ḥunayn's explicating translation in aphorism iii. 30 is not reflected in any substantial way in that entry from the *Lexicon*. The final headword in the entry *litargiqā'ūt* is a nativized adverb, and the Arabic equivalent is etymologically related to the Syriac equivalent *metnašyānutā*. A short entry for the Syriac equivalent mentioned in the *Lexicon* reads as follows:

1197:11 حلا بعتوا لاس حة هنة النسيان»

Metnašyānutā according to bar Serošway, *forgetfulness* (al-nisyān).

1.7

μελαγχολία/μελαγχολικά

109. Taro Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, II 7.

990:14 مَدَامَكَمَلْ أَمَّ حِي هِنَّةً مَبْقَا. هَاوْبَهَا نَهْمَا هِي حِي إِفْسَادِ الْفِكْرِ»

Mānkoliqyā according to bar Serošway, disorder of the mind and annihilation of the intelligence occurring without fever, *disorder of the mind*.

1017:10 مَدَامَكَمَلْ أَمَّ حِي هِنَّةً مَبْقَا. هَاوْبَهَا نَهْمَا فِسَادِ الْفِكْرِ»

Mānkoliqyā according to bar Serošway, disorder of the mind and annihilation of the intelligence occurring with fever, *disorder of the mind*.

1021:15 مَدَامَلَاوْبَهَا سَوْدَاءُ»

Mêlankolyā, *melancholy* (sawdā').

1021:20 مَدَامَلَاوْبَهَا حِي الْوَسْوَسِ الْاِحْتِرَاقِ السُّودَاوِيِّ»

Mêlankolyā, *burning melancholy madness*.

1021:16 مَدَامَلَاوْبَهَا حِي سَوْدَاوِيٌّ. حَنِينِ الْوَسْوَسِ. وَكَذَلِكَ قَالَ الْمَرْوَزِيُّ هَاوْبَ حِي هِنَّةً أَيْهَا أَمَلَةٌ وَتَمَدُّدًا حِي

يَجْنَالًا أَيْ قَعْدًا الصَّرْعِ مِنَ الْمَرَّةِ السُّودَوِيِّ»

Mêlankoliqya, *melancholy*. (According to) *Hunayn*, *delusion* (waswās), and likewise said *al-Marwazī*. And according to bar Serošway it is a type of madness (occurring) due to black bile, *epilepsy due to black bile*.

1085:3 مَدَامَلَاوْبَهَا حِي هِنَّةً الْحُزْنَ الْكُرْهَ صَبْرًا»

Mlē according to bar Serošway, *dejection*, *abhorrence*, *abhorrence*.

Forms of the word *μελαγχολία* and related words occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac *Aphorisms* consistently utilizes a form of the borrowed Greek word. *Hunayn's Arabic translations* develop relatively consistently from

the word *al-sawdā* ‘melancholy’, but in several cases expand the text. For example, in aphorism iv. 9, the Greek phrase τοὺς... μελαγχολικοὺς is translated *man al-ghālibu ‘alayhi al-mirra al-sawdā*, ‘those in whom black bile predominates’, while the Syriac gives simply *l-mêlankoliqāyē* ‘for (those who are) melancholic’. For instances that refer more particularly to the disease ‘melancholy’, the phrase *al-waswās al-sawdāwī* ‘melancholy delusion’ is usually given in Ḥunayn's translation. In aphorism iii. 14, these two approaches are combined, producing the phrase *al-waswās al-‘ariḏu min al-sawdā* ‘delusion produced by melancholy’. The numerous texts wherein Ḥunayn varied his approach to translating this Greek word display on the one hand the translator's reader-oriented style, but on the other hand indicate that the Arabic medical lexicon had not fully adopted a single, catch-all equivalent word that referred both to the disease and to its underlying humoural aetiology.

Examples of translations of μελαγχολικά survive in both the earlier Syriac and the early Arabic versions. The early Syriac version in particular utilizes significantly different terminology when compared with the later Syriac version. For the occurrence of the term in aphorism iii. 20, the fragment of the *Aphorisms* taken from the *Syriac Epidemics* translates with the phrase *bnay mertā ukkāmtā*¹¹⁰ ‘diseases (literally ‘sons’) of black bile’. This is a good example of the historical trend towards lexical Graecization in Syriac between the 6th and 9th centuries.

The early Arabic version of aphorism vi. 23 is also extant. The aphorism reads as follows:

110. Kessel: حنت حننا له صلا.

Ἦν φόβος ἢ δυσθυμία πολλὸν χρόνον ἔχουσα διατελεῖ, μελαγχολικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον.
 If fear or despondency continue for a long time, the affliction is melancholic.

Ḥunayn in his Arabic version translated the final phrase μελαγχολικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον with the words *fa-ʿillatuhu sawdawayatun* ‘then his illness is melancholic’, while al-Biṭrīq employed the phrase *fa-dhālika yaṣīr ilā al-mirra al-sawdā* ‘then that results in black bile’. The clear difference in interpretation extends beyond the varying approaches to the grammatical force of the nominal predicate to the terminological treatment of μελαγχολικόν. Whereas Ḥunayn employed an adjective derived from the standardizing term for melancholy illness *sawdawiya*, the early Arabic translator preferred to make reference to the humoural sense of the Greek term.¹¹¹

The entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* given above display a relatively strong relationship with the translations of μελαγχολία in the *Aphorisms*. An entry for the equivalent of μελαγχολικά in the *Syriac Epidemics* occurs under the headword *mertā* in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*:

1163:7 جِئْنَا حَتْمَةً. جِئْنَا هَجْمَةً أَسْ كِ هِنَا أَلَاةُ صَحْفَةً نَبْصَةً مَحْبَعًا وَحَفِيصَ حِنَابًا مَح
 إِهْمَصًا وَبَوَا أَلَاةُ جِبَاةُ حَحْنَزَا مَحْبَحِيهَ طَاهَمَصَا الْمَرَّةُ الصَّفْرَاءُ. جِئْنَا إِهْمَصَةً أَسْ كِ هِنَا أَلَاةُ
 صَحْفَةً مَبَا مَحْمَعًا. وَحَفِيصَ حِنَابًا مَح إِهْمَصًا وَأَوْجَا. أَلَاةُ جِبَاةُ كَهْتَلَا. مَحْبَحِيهَ سَبَّوْ صَكَاةُ الْمَرَّةُ
 السَّوْدَاءُ. جِئْنَا نَرَفَةً أَسْ كِ هِنَا الْمَرَّةُ النَّاصِعَةَ. جِئْنَا مَبَوَحَةً أَسْ كِ هِنَا الْمَرَّةُ الْغَبْرَاءُ. جِئْنَا صَحْفَةً

111. For a discussion of the treatment of this aphorism in the later Arabic tradition, see N. Peter Joose and Peter E. Pormann, ‘Commentaries on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* in the Arabic Tradition: The Example of Melancholy’ in *Epidemics in Context*, Peter E. Pormann ed., (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012).

حرقه وبعده

Mertā in a manuscript, *bile*. *Mertā sumāqtā* ('red bile') according to bar Serošway, it is a hot and dry humour that is constituted properly of the element of fire. Its dwelling is in the gall, and its power is in the stomach, *yellow bile*. *Mertā ukkāmṭā* according to bar Serošway, it is a cold and dry humour whose constitution is properly of the element of earth. Its dwelling is in the spleen, and its power is around the kidneys, *black bile*. *Mertā naṣoptā* according to bar Serošway, *clear bile*. *Mertā ḥaruṭā* ('yellow bile') according to bar Serošway, *dust-coloured bile*. *Merātā*, usually with the long-a vowel, the head.

1.8

φρενίτις

1497:16 هه وسههههه حن ركا احسا وحر إقدا سرسام جاء به برسام»

Pêrniṭis in a manuscript, chronic ravings occurring with fevers, *phrenitis* (*sarsām*), *he introduced phrenitis* (*birsām*).

1607:3 هه وسههههه حن ركا احسا وحر إقدا سرسام وهو البرسام ويقال ورم الدماغ. هه برسام هه احسا هه هه ههحتنا سحتنا وبعلا الأورام الحارة التي تعرض في الرأس البرسام الجنون. حصلنا سحتنا وبعلا هه هه هه وسههههه الورم الحار الحادث في الدماغ»

Prêniṭis in a manuscript, chronic ravings that (occur) with fevers, *phrenitis* (*sarsām*), *which is phrenitis* (*birsām*). *It is said (to be) swelling of the brain*. (According to) Paul, *phrenitis* (*birsām*), and according to Zakariya and bar Serošway, hot swellings that are in the head, *hot swellings that happen in the head*, *phrenitis* (*birsām*), *madness*. A hot swelling that occurs in the brain, *hot swellings that occur in the brain*.

Forms of words related to φρενίτις occur three times in the modern editions of the *Aphorisms*.¹¹² As discussed below, an additional occurrence is attested as a secondary reading for the word νεφριτικοῖσιν ‘kidney disease’ in Magdelaine's edition of aphorism vi. 11, based in part on the Arabic and Syriac translations of the work considered here. In translating three of these four occurrences, the Syriac translator employed the etymologically-Greek borrowing *prênitîs*. For the occurrence in aphorism vi. 11, however, the word *ṣābrā* ‘raving’ is given instead.

Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of φρενίτις in the Hippocratic lemmas display a high degree of instability. For the instance of the word in aphorism iii. 30, the long explicating translation *al-hummā allatī yakūn ma'hā ikhtilāf al-'aql* ‘the fever with which disorder of the mind occurs’ is given. In that found in aphorism iv. 72, a different explicating translation reads *al-hummā allatī ma'a waram al-dimāgh* ‘the fever that occurs with swelling of the brain’. The Arabic translations of the occurrences of words related to φρενίτις in aphorisms vi. 11 and vii. 12 both give the word *al-birsām* ‘phrenitis’. In several manuscripts of the various Arabic commentaries on the *Aphorisms*, the alternate form *al-sarsām*, also meaning ‘phrenitis’, occurs in place of *al-birsām*.¹¹³

This equivalence between *al-sarsām* and *al-birsām* is somewhat

112. A fourth occurrence is found in aphorism vii. 83, but since this aphorism was not included in any of the translations under consideration, it is outside the scope of the thesis.

113. Mimura lists some of these variations in the apparatus to his edition of the Arabic version of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*. Mimura, *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, VI 24 n. 253.

controversial in the Arabic tradition. For example, in the text of the Hippocratic lemma given in Amīn al-Dawla ibn al-Quff's commentary on aphorism vi. 11, the form *al-sarsām* is employed rather than *al-birsām*. In his commentary, ibn al-Quff writes, 'In some manuscripts *al-birsām* appears for *al-sarsām*, but this is a mistake. Hippocrates' saying concerns diseases, and *al-birsām* is one of the diseases of the chest'.¹¹⁴ Ibn al-Quff seems to have relied upon the Persian etymology of these two words in making this judgment: in that language, *sar* means 'head', *bir* means 'chest', and *sām* in combination with these signifies 'disease'.¹¹⁵

However reasonable this argument may be, the entries which Duval identified as relating to φρενίτις in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* provide clear evidence that Ḥunayn and other translators considered the two words to be equivalent and to refer to a disease of the brain. While these entries also do refer obliquely to the origin of this equivalence, the evidence they give is somewhat contradictory. In the entry at 1497:16, which bar Bahlul refers to 'a manuscript' and so is therefore relatively strongly attributable to Ḥunayn, *sarsām* is given as the first Arabic equivalent for φρενίτις. This is followed by the phrase *jā'a bih birsām* 'he

114. Nicola Carpentieri et al. eds., *Al-Uṣūl fī Sharḥ al-Fuṣūl li-Abī al-Faraj ibn al-Quff* (ARABCOMMAPPH/editions/QUF book 6), 17.

115. The particular distinction between these two disease-names appears to have been lost in the centuries intervening between the translation movement and ibn al-Quff's lifetime. For an earlier explanation of these terms written by the medical theorist Ya'qūb al-Kaškārī, see Peter E. Pormann, 'Theory and Practice in the Early Hospitals in Baghdad: Al-Kaškārī on Rabies and Melancholy', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabische-Islamischen Wissenschaften* no. 15 (2003): 242.

introduced for it *birsām*'. This would seem to be reasonable grounds for attributing its introduction to Ḥunayn. However, in the entry at 1607:3 *birsām* is again made synonymous with φρενῖτις in a definition attributed to Paul. Although traditionally the authorship of the Arabic translation of Paul's *Pragmateia* has been ascribed to Ḥunayn, in that case it would still be unclear what exactly bar Bahlul intended in citing Paul as a distinct source.

Most of the elements of the various translations of the *Aphorisms* are found in the Greek entries cited above. The one missing phrase, *ikhtilāṭ al-ʿaql* in Ḥunayn's translation of iii. 30, does occur in an entry for the etymologically Syriac equivalent of φρενῖτις, *ṣabrā*:

1654:7 رَجَا مَع رَحْمَةٍ هَا حَتَّى وَسَوَاسِ هَا مَب حَي هَاةَ اِخْتِلَاطِ الْعَقْلِ الْهَيْيَانِ ذَهَابِ الْعَقْلِ. وَأَخْرُونَ اِخْتِلَاطِ الذَّهْنِ
Ṣabārā, from *ṣāborutā*, in a manuscript *delusion* (*waswās*), and according to bar Serošway *disorder of the mind* (*ikhtilāṭ al-ʿaql*), *raving*, *loss of reason*. (*According to*) *others*, *disorder of the mind* (*ikhtilāṭ al-dihhn*).

Section Two

In this section, I compare the translations and lexicographical background of Greek words in the *Aphorisms* for which the Syriac version gives the self-same word borrowed from the Greek as an equivalent, and for which Ḥunayn's Arabic translations display a high degree of stability.

2.1

ἀθληταί

330:22 **اَلْمُحِبِّهِمَا** اَلْمُحِبِّهَا مِصْرَاعِ مَنَاضِلِ مَكَادِحِ. **اِسْمٌ كُنَّ هِنَا الشَّجَاعِ الْبَطْلِ. اِسْمٌ مَعْنَى صَرِيحٍ. تَ
اَلْمُحِبِّهِمَا الْاِبْلَاءَ بَيْنَ يَدَيِ السُّلْطَانِ.**¹¹⁶ **صَلَّاهُ وَفَدَّاهُ وَجَحَّدَهُ هَرَسًا صَمَطًا مَلَمًا مَعَ فَتْمَا هَعْتَالًا**
Atlaytuta, an athlete (*atlaytā*), a wrestler (*muṣārī*), a fighter (*munāḏil*), a striver
(*mukādih*). According to bar Serošway, *courageous, brave*. According to
Ḥunayn, a wrestler (*ṣirrī*). In a manuscript *atlaytutā*, *the good things present with
the sultan*. In the *Book of Paradise*, all of the great nobles who are mighty and
glorious in battle.

This word occurs a single time in the *Aphorisms*, in aphorism i. 15. The Syriac version gives the borrowed Greek word, while Ḥunayn's Arabic translates it with *al-ṣirrī* 'wrestlers'. Ullmann notes examples of Arabic translations for ὁ ἀθλητής and the related word ἀθλητικός from a variety of works. A text from the Hippocratic *On Regimen* uses the same form as that found in the *Aphorisms*, but the usual word employed there is the related *al-muṣārī*, also meaning 'wrestler'.¹¹⁷

These translations roughly correspond to the definition attributed explicitly to Ḥunayn in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, *ṣirrī*. The series of synonyms given at the beginning of the entry indicate a certain instability in the reception of the term in Arabic, contrasting with the regularity of the attested translations. The word seems to have been thoroughly integrated into the Syriac language, such that no single native synonym needed to be cited to clarify its meaning.

2.2

ἀποπληξία

116. Duval: السليطان.

117. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 75.

251:6 **اِفْعَلَمَصِل** مَهَامَا سَكْتَةٌ اِبْرَحْمَا حَرَّ اِفْعَلَمَصِلَا هَا اِبْرَحْمَا حَرَّ مَعْلَمَصِلَا. هَا هَا حَا هَا هَا
*Apolo*k*sia*, stroke (*šuttāqā*), *stroke* (sakta), according to Zakariya in (one) manuscript, *apopli*k*sia*, and according to Sergius ‘being deprived’ (*meštalḥānā*), and likewise bar Serošway.

253:25 **اِفْعَلَمَصِل** هَا هَا اِبُولْقِسْيَا بَطْلَانِ الْحَسِّ وَالْحَرَكَةِ فِي الْاَعْضَاءِ الرَّئِيسِيَّةِ هَا هَا: اِمْعَلَمَصِلُمَا هَا هَا
 مَعْنَاهُ اِمْعَلَمَصِلُمَا مَعْنَاهُ اِنْ هَذَا الرَّاقِدُ عَرَضَ فِي السَّاقِ وَحَدَهَا. هَا هَا هَا هَا اِحْبَهَا قَمَلَا هَا هَا اِحْبَهَا. وَقَالَ
 مَرَّةً فَالِحٌ هَا هَا **اِفْعَلَمَصِل** مَهَامَا سَكْتَةٌ
*Apopoli*k*ia* (according to) Paul, abūliqsiya, *nullity of sense and action in the governing parts*. Hippocrates says that his leg became apoplectic; *its meaning is that this sleeping occurred in one leg only*. This disease consists of the loss of sense and action. *He said another time, hemiplegia (fālij)*. Again, *apople*k*sia*, stroke, *stroke*.¹¹⁸

263:8 **اِفْعَلَمَصِل** حَا هَا هَا مَهَامَا السَكْتَةُ
*Aplpā*s*ia* (according to) bar Serošway, stroke (*šuttāqā*), *stroke* (sakta)

265:12 **اِفْعَلَمَصِل** اِبْرَحْمَا حَا هَا هَا فُجْءَا اِبْرَحْمَا مَوْتِ الْفَجْءَا
*Aps*s*ia*, according to bar Serošway sudden death (*mawtā d-menšel*), *sudden death* (*mawt al-faj'a*).

Forms of ἀποπληξία, ἀπόπληξις, and the related adjective ἀπόπληκτος occur

118. I have followed Pormann in the reading of this passage and in much of the translation. Pormann, *Oriental Tradition*, 19.

seven times in the *Aphorisms*. Both the Syriac translation and Ḥunayn's Arabic version use generally well-established equivalents for these instances, the former giving a form of the borrowed Greek word, the latter giving a form of *al-sakta* 'stroke'. There are exceptions in both versions; although they are relatively minor, their description will bring up a few points of interest.

In aphorism vi. 56, Ḥunayn's Arabic version employs the hendiadys *al-sakta wal-fālij* 'stroke and hemiplegia' to translate the phrase ἀποπλεξίην τοῦ σώματος.¹¹⁹ The Syriac too departs from its normal course in rendering this phrase. Instead of using the borrowed Greek term, it translates with *mrašlutā* 'paralysis'. It may be that both Ḥunayn and the translator of the Syriac *Aphorisms* were motivated to modify their usual approach to translating ἀποπληξία in this aphorism by the context of the aphorism, which mentions several other diseases of the head, or by Galen's commentary, which discusses the generality of the effects of phlegm and melancholy in such cases.¹²⁰ Another exception occurs in the Arabic translation of aphorism vii. 40. There, Ḥunayn rendered the phrase ἢ ἀπόπληκτόν τι τοῦ σώματος with *aw istarkhā 'uḏwun min al-a'ḏā* 'or if one of the parts slackens'. The Syriac in this case only slightly departs from the other examples discussed, giving *aw medem men pagrā apoplētiqiya nehwā*, 'or a part of the body is apoplectic'.

One relevant text from the early Arabic version also survives. In aphorism iii. 16, the term ἀπόπληκτοι occurs in the context of a list of diseases. While Ḥunayn's Arabic and the Syriac follow their usual approach as described above,

119. Mimura's edition differs slightly from Tytler's text, which reads simply *al-fālij* 'hemiplegia'.

120. Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, VI 129-130.

al-Biṭrīq's version translates the word with *al-fālij* 'hemiplegia'. This equivalent overlaps with the exceptional hendiadys used by Ḥunayn in aphorism vi. 56, but as an isolated example little can be concluded solely on the basis of it.

If we turn to the entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, however, it is possible to describe a certain division between the various authors' approaches to the Greek term in question which may broaden the implications of the single early Arabic example. In the definitions attributed to Paul of Aegina in the entry at 253:25, the extended descriptions of the symptoms of the disease do not include Ḥunayn's preferred equivalent *al-sakta*. Instead, this word occurs alongside the strongly synonymous Syriac word *šuttāqā* after a restated headword. If the verb *qāla* 'he said' may be taken to refer to Paul, however, bar Bahlul does attribute the equivalent *al-fālij* to the translation of the work Paul.

The repeated pairing of *al-sakta* and *šuttāqā* is also notable. Even though they are not clearly related in a formal etymological sense, these two words do share a common sense-development from roots meaning 'to be silent', and bear a certain phonetic resemblance to one another as well. The prominence of that native Syriac equivalent in these entries combined with the presence of several relatively extensive and complimentary definitions gives the impression that the borrowed Greek word was somewhat obscure in Syriac. Yet at the same time *šuttāqā* is not very well represented in the lexicons considered here. Only a single-word entry pairing it with *al-sakta* in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* occurs in them.¹²¹

The other equivalent given in the Syriac *Aphorisms* is better represented in the lexicons. Bar Bahlul's entry for *mrašlutā* runs as follows:

121. Gottheil ed., *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, II 425:16.

1162:27 *مَرَشْلُتَا* حَتَّى خَدَّرَ¹²² هَذَا وَرَمَدًا حَسْمًا حَلْبًا وَجَمْعًا نَادِبًا أَوْ بِلَا حَرْفٍ هَيْسًا وَيُقَالُ لَهُ الْاِسْتِرْخَاءُ. هَذَا
 حِينَ هَيَّةَ *مَرَشْلُتَا* حَيٌّ وَهَذَا الْاِسْتِرْخَاءُ مِنَ الْعَصَبِ. *مَرَشْلُتَا* وَفَرْزَهْلَا وَجَمْعُ سَبَّحَلَا أَوْ حِينَ هَيَّةَ هَذَا وَهَذَا
 حِينَ مَرَشْلُتَا هَذَا مَرَشْلُتَا أَوْ مَرَشْلُتَا مَحَلًا لِلْقُوَّةِ»

Mrašlutā in a manuscript, *numbness* (khadar). That is, that movement (considered) by itself is lost or greatly diminished, without sensation.¹²³ *Slackening* (al-istikhrā) is said for it. According to bar Serošway *mrašlutā* is from *rušālā* (paralysis), *slackening* (al-istikhrā) of the nerves. *Mrašlutā d-paršupā* (paralysis of the face) is of one side, according to bar Serošway, they read this for several types of canine convulsions (*haw da-qrin leh quniquis w-ap mus w-ap qpāsā kalbānā*),¹²⁴ *paralysis of one side of the face* (al-laqwa).

That a word related to the exceptional usage found in Ḥunayn's Arabic version of vii. 40, *al-istikhrā*, would appear so prominently in the entry for the exceptional usage *mrašlutā* found in the Syriac version of vi. 56 is interesting. Given the evidence already presented that the Syriac and Arabic *Aphorisms* were authored by different people, this may be due to Ḥunayn's having used this Syriac equivalent in his Syriac version of the work rather than the borrowed Greek word.

2.3

ἄρωμα

122. Duval: خَدَّرَ.

123. Literally, ‘that movement by itself without sensation is lost or greatly diminished’.

124. Both *quniquis* and *qpāsā kalbānā* are defined as ‘canine convulsions’. Although *mus* is obscure, it is clearly related to these by the force of the definition.

الكزاز والتقلص ويقال على الحدة وحنين يخصصه بالتشنج والتحدب ولا يسميه الكزاز:¹³³

Zqātā is a disease that occurs from the front and from the back simultaneously, or from the front at once and the back.¹³⁴ The Greeks called it *têtanus*, *spasms and contraction* (al-kuzāz wal-taqalluṣ), which is said of humps. Ḥunayn specified it with *spasms and hunching* (al-tashannuj wal-taḥaddub) but did not call it al-kuzāz.

The material in both these definitions for *zqātā* strongly agrees with that found in the entry at 789:8. There, again, *al-kuzāz* and *al-tamaddud* are attributed to the commentator on Paul, while the writer of the entry provides *al-tashannuj* and *al-taḥaddub* himself. In his entry for *zqātā*, bar Bahlul attributes *al-tamaddud* to the ancients and the translators (*al-qudamā' w-al-naqala*) as an equivalent for *zqātā*, credits Ḥunayn with the specification of the disease by *al-tashannuj* and *al-taḥaddub* as a hendiadys, and then explicitly denies that Ḥunayn used *al-kuzāz* as its equivalent. This denial occurs with almost exactly the same formulation in bar 'Ali's entry as well. There, however, the fact that Ḥunayn did not use *al-kuzāz* as an equivalent for the Greek τέτανος is stated more clearly, without primary reference to the Syriac *zqātā* as an intermediary between the two.

Al-kuzāz is used as an equivalent for τέτανος several times in the Arabic version of Paul of Aegina's *Pragmateia*.¹³⁵ The explicit dismissal of Ḥunayn's use

133. Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen*, 129:3559.

134. Although a distinction appears to be intended between these two phrases, their meanings are almost entirely indistinguishable. It may be that something has dropped out of the text.

135. Pormann, *Oriental Tradition*, 260-271.

of *al-kuzāz* in this context is thus strong evidence against Ḥunayn's authorship of that work. The convergence amongst the three entries discussed above, along with the citation of Ḥunayn by the lexicographers for the distinctions they contain, is strong evidence for identifying Ḥunayn as the author of the entry at 789:8. In my opinion it is likely the case that the later compilers referred to Ḥunayn's discussion in that entry in writing their own entries for *zqātā*. Since the author of the entry there refers to 'the interpreter of the *Compendium* of Paul', meaning the translator of the *Pragmateia*, this attribution is strong evidence against Ḥunayn's authorship of that work.

From the perspective of the lexicographers' explicit attribution of some equivalents for τέτανος to Ḥunayn and their explicit refusal to attribute others to him, the remaining entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* fall into two categories. One of these represents entries that contain equivalents for τέτανος linked to Ḥunayn, including the entries at 788:23 and 802:13. The other contains equivalents attributed to the commentator on Paul or 'the ancients'. This category has only one member, the entry at 789:11. Given the clear division laid out by the lexicographers, this unattributed definition probably should not be attributed to Ḥunayn, but could be associated with Paul. If so, this would be another example of Pauline material occurring in the lexicon without attribution, as was seen in the discussion of ἀπόστημα above (unit 1.3.8).

There exists an entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the other Syriac equivalent given in these entries, *mqaysutā*, which also contains a definition attributed to Paul, and which further extends the account of these equivalents laid out in the entries above:

1146:5 *مقيصوتا* حن تشنج. هقة امتداد. هح: هقة التشبك

فلمصم وحتلأ اء ح: صنة هزال العين. فلمصم ؤ: مع إءءا حء الدم من قرحة الصدر بغير حمى.
فلمصم صفتلأ السلء»

Pt̄isis, tuberculosis, hectic (fever), the tormenting illness. Continuous fevers with spittle of blood, which is abscesses in the chest. Pt̄isis d-ʿaynē (tuberculosis of the eyes) according to bar Serošway, consumption of the eyes, Pt̄isis šar men ešāṭā (tuberculosis without fever) in a manuscript, blood occurring from ulcers of the chest without fever. Pt̄isis, tormenting (disease), tuberculosis (al-sill).

1648:21 فلمصق¹³⁷ الذين بهم قرحة السلء»

Pt̄isqē, those with the ulcers of tuberculosis (qarḥa al-sill).

1648:22 فلمصم حء السلء جاء به فولوس في علل عين. فقال إن السلء علة صبيء العين اذا ضاق وضعف»
*Pt̄isis in a manuscript, tuberculosis (al-sill). Paul introduced it among the illnesses of the eye. He said tuberculosis is the illness of the pupil of the eye when it is weary and weak.*¹³⁸

Forms of the disease-name φθίσις occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac translation invariably gives a form of the self-same borrowed Greek word, while Ḥunayn's Arabic version translates regularly with a form of *al-sill* 'tuberculosis'. A translation of φθίσις exists in the fragments of the early Arabic version as well. In translating aphorism v. 9, al-Biṭrīq rendered the term with *al-dumr fī al-riʿa* 'emaciation in the lungs'. In the early Arabic version of aphorism

137. Duval: فلمصقأ.

138. Cf. bar Bahlul's entry for *tarsāyṭā* at 2089:5 in the unit on ἀνάληψις in Chapter One (1.2.7).

texts from the Syriac version translate it with a form of the borrowed Greek word, while Ḥunayn's Arabic version utilizes forms of *al-ḥijāb* 'diaphragm' for two of these instances. However, in aphorism vi. 18, the word *al-kulya* 'kidney' appears in its place, in the context of a list of parts of the body prone to suffering mortal injury. The Syriac version of this aphorism follows the modern editions in placing φρένας in this place in the text, and no alternate readings appear for it in either Magdelaine's or Mimura's editions. The translation of this word in the early Arabic version of aphorism vi. 18 also exists. There al-Biṭrīq employed the word *ṣifāq* 'peritoneum'. Furthermore, Ullmann notes a text from Aristotle's *Parts of Animals* that makes *al-ḥijāb* and *al-ṣifāq* synonymous.¹⁴¹

Turning to the entry in bar Bahlul's Lexicon, we see that the two Arabic equivalents attested in the available literature both occur. Ḥunayn's usual equivalent in the Aphorisms, *al-ḥijāb*, is given in a definition referred to 'a manuscript', and which is thus relatively firmly attributable to the translator. A plural of al-Biṭrīq's equivalent *al-ṣifāq* in the single available example from the early Arabic version follows in a definition attributed to Paul. Although Ullmann's text shows that these two terms were known to be synonymous, the isomorphism obtaining between the Pauline definition and al-Biṭrīq's translation on the one hand and the unattributed definition and Ḥunayn's translation on the other is notable, and accompanied by other evidence could bear further on the authorship of the Arabic version of the Pragmateia.

141. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 742.

like fire, nor wet like water, nor dry like earth, nor cold like air. But because the physicians consider that blood is warm and wet, and that its constitution is of air, they also say of air that it is hot and dry. The doctors of the church, however, because they were observant, saw that if people called (air) wet and hot, no dominant power would belong to it specifically. For if people called it hot, that is the power of fire, and if wet, that is of water. And on that account, for these reasons they said cold is [its] power. But not all of them consent to that. So it is the reader's to accept which of all seems better to him, whether it is cold as the doctors say, or wet and hot as the physicians say. *Air, sky*. And according to Ḥunayn, *ā'ar*. It is said (both) masculine and feminine. The Greeks call it *a'ayr*. This is below the tops of tall mountains. What is above this is called aether. *Air, the sky at the extremity of the clouds*. *Others, space* (al-faḏā'). In a manuscript it is written *ā'ar* with regard to its vocalization.

The Greek word ἀήρ occurs a single time in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac gives the borrowed Greek word, which was present in the Syriac language for centuries prior to the period under consideration in this work. The Arabic translates with *al-hawā'* 'air'. The entry from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* is of inherent interest. In it, bar Serošway contrasts the physical views of the physicians with those of the doctors of the church, while making no final judgment regarding their disagreement. A clear distinction is observable, furthermore, between the approach adopted by bar Serošway in this entry and that of the entry for the Syriac word *dmā* attributable to Ḥunayn given above (unit 1.3.1). Along with the entry for *hešokā* presented in chapter one (unit 1.3.14), this entry gives further evidence of tension between the authority of philosophical and religious sources in 'Abbāsīd-era Syriac thought.

Al-tha'ālīl is also a common element in the translations for this word mentioned by Ullmann, but the addition of *al-mu'allaqa* or *al-muta'allaqa* is significantly rarer in his citations.¹⁴² In the second entry above, someone, presumably bar Serošway, provides a brief explanation of the reasoning behind adding *al-muta'allaqa*. At any rate it seems that the use of *al-tha'ālīl* in translating this word had achieved a level of consensus before Ḥunayn's time. In cases like this, the importance of earlier translation activity for Ḥunayn's work is emphasized.

Although Ḥunayn's definitions in 278:14 do not relate directly to the *Aphorisms*, there are interesting relationships between them and certain other sources noted by Ullmann. The Syriac translation *riši yatrā* is a calque of the Greek term, and the Arabic translations *aṭrāf al-awṭār* is a near-calque. Ullmann notes that al-Rāzī's *Hāwī* contains the Arabic calque *ru'ūs al-awṭār*, which Ullmann links to *Iṣṭifān*.¹⁴³ Furthermore, recalling the Arabic transliteration given in the entry at 278:14, three quotations from Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* translate ἀκροχορδόνες with *al-tha'ālīl allatī yuqāl lahā aqrūkhurdūnis* ('the warts that are called *aqrūkhurdūnis*').¹⁴⁴

3.3

ἀσκαρίδες

142. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 90-91.

143. *ibid.*

144. There are slight variations in the transliterations amongst the three equivalents given by Ullmann.

The final element of this definition resembles a translation of the form ἄσκαριδάς cited by Ullmann in Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Seven, *al-ḥayyāt al-mutawallida fī al-baṭn* ‘worms generated in the belly’.¹⁴⁷

3.4

δυσεντερία

544:13 وهو جيبان من قروح الأمعاء وأيضاً الخلفة من قروح الأمعاء سحج. وهو مهتلا حصدها*
وهو مهتلا حصدها*

Dusanṭareya, ulcers of the bowels, *ulcers of the bowels* (qarḥ al-am‘ā’), also *diarrhoea* (khilfa) *because of ulceration of the bowels*, *dysentery* (saḥj).

Dusêtséria, that is, the sores that are these ulcers in cholera.

Forms of the word δυσεντερία occur numerous times in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac gives the self-same word borrowed from the Greek in every instance. In all but one case, Ḥunayn translates the word into Arabic with a version of the phrase *ikhtilāf al-dam* ‘bloody diarrhoea’. The exception is found in aphorism iii. 30, where *saḥj al-am‘ā’* ‘abrasion of the intestines’ is used instead. The early Arabic version of aphorism iii. 11 exists, and there δυσεντερίας is translated *ikhtilāf min al-a‘fāj* ‘diarrhoea from the large intestine’. In the extant early Arabic version of aphorism iii. 16, the translator specifies this interpretation somewhat further, giving *ikhtilāf min khurāj al-a‘fāj* ‘diarrhoea from abscesses of the large intestine’. Al-Biṭrīq’s translations thus give more specific interpretations of the disease than do Ḥunayn’s, while the latter’s renditions are much more regular.

147. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 141.

In the numerous texts from the Arabic versions of Book Six of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* cited by Ullmann, the usual translation of δυσεντερία in Ḥunayn's version is *qurūh al-am'ā*.¹⁴⁸ However, in a citation from Book 10 of that work, the Greek word is transliterated. In the texts from Book Six, al-Bīṭrīq preferred several different equivalents. Sometimes he used *ikhtilāf al-aghrās* 'diarrhoea with mucus', sometimes simply *al-aghrās* 'mucus',¹⁴⁹ and sometimes the same equivalent preferred by Ḥunayn in the *Aphorisms*, *ikhtilāf al-dam* 'bloody diarrhoea'.

The definitions attributable to Ḥunayn in the entry from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* correspond only to the examples from the later version of Book Six of *On Simple Drugs* and the single exceptional translation in aphorism iii. 30. One way of interpreting the discrepancies between these translations follows on from a consideration of the different audiences for whom these works were intended. While the *Aphorisms* was often used as an introductory text to medicine, both *On Simple Drugs* and Ḥunayn's glossary were more advanced works meant for doctors with at least some training. Arguably, the aetiological translation found in the two latter works is more appropriate for the specialist, while the symptomatological translation found in the former is more appropriate for students.

148. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 210-211.

149. This word is obscure. The only anatomical definition available for this form occurs in volume III, p. 269 of Freytag's dictionary. There he mentions the plural *aghrās* for the word *ghirs*, and defines it *res ex utero mucii instar prodiens cum foetu*.

Bar Bahlul's entry for the word at 1497:9 contains definitions written by several different authors, all of which are relatively similar. Ḥunayn's definition is distinguished mostly by the addition of the symptom of fever to the description of the disease, but since no Arabic text occurs in it, no comparison may be made between it and the text of his version of the *Aphorisms*. While one of the alternative Syriac translations *ʿubbyānā d-rātā* 'swelling of the lungs' figures prominently in these definitions, the other *ḥašā d-rātā* 'disease of the lungs' is not found there. In the absence of evidence from the early Arabic version, it is impossible to assume that Ḥunayn's translation in the *Aphorisms* represents any process of development in translation technique.

3.6

ποδάγρα

1489:3 ܦܕܘܓܪܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ

Pdgrē in a manuscript and (according to) bar Serošway, *gout* (al-niqris).

1500:18 ܦܕܘܓܪܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ. ܦܕܘܓܪܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ

Pudagrā in a manuscript, *gout* (al-niqris). *Pudagrā*, *puṭagrā*, and (according to) others *pudanga*, *gout*.

1534:5 ܦܕܘܓܪܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ

Pṭagrā, *gout*.

1648:13 ܦܕܘܓܪܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܫ

Ptlgya, which is *pudagrā*, (according to) bar Serošway, *gout*.

The disease ποδάγρα is mentioned several times in the *Aphorisms*. Both the Syriac version and Ḥunayn's translation adopt regular approaches to rendering the term. The former gives forms of the borrowed Greek word, while the latter uses *al-niqris* 'gout'. Beyond this, Ullmann cites a text mentioning a form of the related adjective ποδαγρικός from Book Six of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*. In translating it, both al-Biṭrīq and Ḥunayn again use *al-niqris*,¹⁵⁰ indicating that a stable equivalency between these two words had been established well before the beginning of Ḥunayn's career.

The entries from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* also show a high degree of stability for the equivalence between ποδάγρα and *al-niqris*. However, no native Syriac equivalent is given, indicating that the borrowed Greek word had been thoroughly integrated into the language. On the other hand the transcriptions of the Greek word in the *Lexicon* have a strong tendency toward irregularity, moderating somewhat this impression.

3.7

σατυριασμοί

1292:6 **هالهه زهصحه** **ام** **اصه** **اشياء** **تنتو** **من** **البدن**. **هالهه زهصحه** **ام** **ح** **هده** **بها** **مجر** **وهصحه**. **ن** **زوايد**
تنتو من البدن. **ن** **إنعاظ** **من** **غير** **شهوة** **الجماع** ♦

Saturismu according to Zakariya, *things that protrude from the body*. *Saturiasmū* according to bar Serošway, *certain protuberances of the body* (*ndāyē meddem d-pagrā*). In a manuscript, *excesses protruding from the body*. In a manuscript,

150. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 543.

sexual excitement without desire for copulation.

A form of this Greek word occurs a single time in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac gives the self-same word borrowed from the Greek, while Ḥunayn's Arabic version gives *al-khānāzīr* 'scrofula'. The early Arabic version of this aphorism likewise gives this word, albeit in the indefinite. This indicates that a stable approach to translating this term into Arabic was established well before the beginning of Ḥunayn's career. Despite this, the entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* has no trace of this Arabic equivalent and seems largely to refer to a different sense of the word. It is possible that this may bear on the question of the authorship of the Syriac *Aphorisms*. An entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the word *ndāyē* given in the entry above also does not contain Ḥunayn's Arabic equivalent:

1218:23 نديا اسم ذة هنة وخدمه حجة ال القروح في القضيب ه اسم ما ينتمو من البدن مثل الثاليل
وغيرها. نديا ح تنضيح قفز شرارة ويقال منه نديا ويكون نفي تفرق اضطراب»

Ndāyē according to bar Serošway, that which occurs in the virile member, *abscesses of the penis*. And according to Zakariya, *that which protrudes from the body, such as worms and the like*. *Ndāyā* in a manuscript, *splashing*,¹⁵¹ *jumping*, *sparkling*. *Ndā* is derived from it, and it is *fleeing, separating, disorder*.

3.8

σφάκελος

151. Neither this noun nor the second form of the root *ndḥ* are attested in the dictionaries of Wehr and Freytag. I have translated it according to the sense of the root and the meaning of the Syriac word.

Ullmann's *Wörterbuch* demonstrates that the usage *al-ghibb* was not universal in the Greek-to-Arabic translation movement. In the Arabic version of the *Cyranides*, a description of the course of the fever reading *al-nāfiḍ alladhī min thalāth ilā thalāth* ‘fits that run by threes’ serves to translate a form of the related verb τριταΐζω.¹⁵⁵ This emphasizes the unanimity between the lexicons and Ḥunayn's translations, but does not constitute strong evidence for identifying any specific contribution from the translator.

3.10

φλέγμα

1565:20 فليجها لب دى هنية لىة صهصه و ليطا هصصا. و لىة هصصه صصا مع ا هصصا و صصا. ه لىة صصه دى لىة هصصه صصا سبب البغم. فليجها لىة هصصه صصا.

Plegmā according to bar Serošway, this is a wet and cold humour. Its constitution is properly derived from the element of water. Its home is in the lungs and its power is in the chest, *phlegm* (al-balgham). *Plegmā* again, and *plegmātā*.

Forms of this Greek word occur four times in the *Aphorisms*. In each case the Syriac gives the self-same word borrowed from the Greek. The Arabic likewise uses a form of the borrowed Greek word *al-balgham* in each case. Ullmann cites a text for this word from Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six. There, the early Arabic translator al-Biṭrīq and Ḥunayn both translate using *al-balgham* as well, showing that the borrowing had occurred well before the beginning of Ḥunayn's career. Bar Serošway's entry from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* follows the same

155. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 684.

approach as that adopted in the several definitions found in the entry for *mertā*, discussed in the discussion of *μελαγχολία* above (unit 1.7 in this chapter), as well as that found in the entry for *dmā* in the discussion of *αἷμα* (unit 1.3.1). Here, then, we may distinguish the Syriac as a full borrowing as opposed to a transcription, given that the lexicographers define it according to the conventions used in defining other Syriac humoral terms as opposed to those used in defining analogous Greek words.

3.11

φλεγμονή

1566:10 *فدهممه* حن البلغم هاسب رصه *فدهممه* الورم الحار الذي يحدث عن الدم. هاسب حن هده
 حهكتنا مسحتعا ورم حار*

Plêgmonê in a manuscript, *phlegm* (al-balgham). And according to Zakariya *plgêmonay*, *hot swellings that occur on account of blood*. And according to bar Serošway, *hot swellings* (*‘ūbbyānē ḥamimē*), *a hot swelling* (*waram ḥār*).

The Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* adopts varying approaches to translating the forms of the Greek noun *φλεγμονή* and the participle of the related verb *φλεγμαίνω* that occur six times in the *Aphorisms*. Three of these instances are translated with the native Syriac equivalent *‘ūbbyānā* ‘swelling’, while for the other three the borrowed Greek word is used. Ḥunayn's Arabic version consistently employs a form of the equivalent *waram* ‘swelling’ to translate each instance. A slight variation occurs in aphorism v. 23, where the adjective *al-ḥāra* ‘hot’ is added to modify the plural *al-awrām*. This is almost certainly due to the context of that aphorism, which discusses the potential medicinal uses of the

877:3 ܩܘܠܘܢ ܐܝܢ ܗܝܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܘܢܐ ܘܚܝܬܐ ܒܠܐ ܗܘܘܢܐ ܬܚܡܐ. ܩܘܠܘܢ ܐܘܚܕ

Kolêra according to bar Serošway, intense disturbance of the stomach, *dyspepsia*.
Again, *kolara*.¹⁵⁹

A form of *χολέρα* occurs once in the *Aphorisms*, in aphorism iii. 30. The Syriac version gives a form of the borrowed Greek word, while Ḥunayn's Arabic version gives *al-hayḍa* 'cholera'. The agreement between the entry at 876:5 in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and Ḥunayn's translation of the *Aphorisms* contrasts with the absence of the translator's equivalent *al-hayḍa* from bar Serošway's definition in the entry at 877:3. The presence of *al-hayḍa* in the entry at 876:5 indicates a relative degree of stability for this approach to translating the term, while the Syriac definition explains in greater detail the symptoms of the disease. This is further extended by the use of this Arabic word to translate *χολέρα* in Theomnestus of Nicopolis' *Horse-medicine*.¹⁶⁰

Conclusion

Having provided these examples, several of the questions I posed in the introduction to this chapter may be answered. First, we may consider the extent to which the 27 Greek words discussed above were integrated into the Syriac

159. Duval also notes a definition for this Greek word at 544:15. I discuss the entry in which it occurs in the discussion of *δυσεντερία* in unit (2.3.4).

160. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen* (supplement), II 691.

language. To restate the question, how profound was the trend toward adoption of Greek vocabulary in Syriac medicine? In other words, did the Syriac glossographers treat these Greek words as fully native, or were etymologically-Syriac equivalents resorted to in order to explain them?

The entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and the translation of the *Aphorisms* give evidence of active Syriac equivalents for some of these words and not for others. Hunayn's Arabic translations of the eight words presented in section one display a high degree of instability. Four of these cannot be shown to possess a clear Syriac equivalent in the sources considered here, namely αἰμορροΐδες, εἰλεός, κίνδυνος, and μελαγχολία. Conversely, the other four, ἐπίπλοος, κισσός, λήθαργος, and φρενῖτις, do correspond at least roughly to native Syriac equivalents.

Hunayn's translations of the nine words presented in section two evince a lower degree of instability than those in section one. However, they follow largely the same pattern in terms of the presence of active etymologically-Syriac equivalents in the translations and lexicons. Four of them, ἀθληταί, ἐπιληψία, φθίσις, and φρενός, show no evidence of simple, active Syriac equivalents. The other five, ἀποπληξία, ἄρωμα, ἐπιληψία, καῦσος, and τέτανος do show evidence for active Syriac equivalents. Although in certain cases the lexicographical entries for these Syriac equivalents were important as loci for the establishment of Arabic terminology, evidence for the existence of these equivalents does not predict any particular level of order in Hunayn's Arabic translations.

Despite this negative conclusion, it may be fruitful to compare these examples with those presented in Chapter One. In the more or less arbitrary selection of the treatment of 29 Greek words in the translations of the *Aphorisms* presented there, significant explicative translations were only found in Hunayn's

Arabic translation for a single instance, that of αὐτόματον (unit 1.1.3). In the present chapter, however, seven of the 28 terms presented were given explicative treatment by Ḥunayn in his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*.¹⁶¹

A closer look at these examples should aid in explaining the source of the less orderly translations. In translating κισσός (1.5), for example, Ḥunayn relied upon an Arabic word borrowed from the underlying Syriac equivalent *dalāyṭā*. It is possible to surmise that this word was somewhat unfamiliar to Ḥunayn's audience on the basis of his extant relevant lexicography. His approach to translating the word likewise appears to reflect this unfamiliarity. Rather than presenting the word simply without explanation, he provided an explicating translation to introduce the term to his readers. In later instances of the word in the text of the *Aphorisms*, however, he gradually reduces the amount of explication before finally allowing his preferred equivalent to stand by itself. A similar pattern is also observable in the case of εἰλεός (1.2).

In the example of μελαγχολία (1.7), it is more plausible that the absence of an established native Syriac equivalent for the Greek term had implications for Ḥunayn's Arabic translations. The evidence from the earlier Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms* attributed to Sergius indicates that the borrowed Greek word was not immediately adopted in Syriac medicine. The later Syriac translators,

161. Although other words discussed in Chapter One were translated in a variety of ways in the Arabic *Aphorisms*, like ἀγαθός (1.2.1) and ἀνάγκη (1.2.7), for example, I would argue that this variety is more stylistic than reflective of a need to interpret the sense of an unfamiliar term. For the same reason I have excluded κίνδυνος (2.1.4) from the tally of explicated terms treated in this chapter. The seven mentioned all are themselves considered in section one.

however, seem to have abandoned any attempt to render the complex sense of the Greek word, preferring to adopt it instead. Although Ḥunayn's preferred equivalent *al-sawdā'* eventually came to be a part of the Arabic lexicon with more-or-less an identical sense to that of the Greek word, the variety of approaches adopted for translating μελαγχολία in the Aphorisms reduce considerably the simple agreement between the source-text and the translation.

For terms presented in the second section, Ḥunayn's activity appears more to be that of an expert drawing upon the resources of his native tongue than that of the wordsmith innovating or borrowing lexical items. This is apparently the case in the discussion of ἐπιληψία in unit (2.4), for example. The terms so established may sometimes have resonance with native Syriac equivalents, as for example in the translations of ἀποπληξία (2.2).

The bewildering swirl of terms surrounding τέτανος (2.6) gives strong evidence for the value of these sources for understanding the background of the Greek-to-Arabic translations. The regularity of Ḥunayn's translations of these terms combined with the evidence for the progressive development of Arabic translation techniques they provide shows clearly Ḥunayn's preference for simple and accurate translations of central technical terms of the medical art. Yet in considering the glossographical background for words like ἀθληταί (2.1), the rich background of potential Arabic equivalents available to Ḥunayn is emphasized as well.

The most important characteristic of the terms in the third section of this chapter is the degree of continuity between al-Biṭrīq's and Ḥunayn's Arabic translations they display. The Arabic translations for words like ἀκροχορδόνες (3.2), ἀσκαρίδες (3.3), δυσεντερία (3.4), and φλέγμα (3.10) were all established well before the beginning of Ḥunayn's career. This fact may be contrasted with

several words, concentrated in section two, for which glosses attributed to Paul of Aegina agree better with al-Biṭrīq's translation than they do with Ḥunayn's. Ἀποπληξία (2.2), κίνδυνος (1.4), φρενός (2.8), and in particular τέτανος (2.6) all fit this description. The relevant lexicographical entries for the latter word provide strong evidence that the traditional ascription of the Arabic translation of Paul's *Pragmateia* is incorrect.

Furthermore, some important examples of more expansive discussions of medical and philosophical material appear in these examples. When compared with the material presented in Chapter One, descriptions in both Syriac and Arabic of concepts of medical theory appear more commonly in these examples. This is due to the fact that many more of these terms represent technical terms of art than do the words presented in chapter one. Although not written by Ḥunayn himself, bar Serošway's entry for ἄήρ (3.1) further extends the motif of tension between religious and philosophical authorities first noticed in the entry for *hešokā* in unit (1.3.14).

Although the evidence is mixed, important relationships between Syriac and Arabic in Ḥunayn's translation technique are displayed in several of these examples. In some cases it appears that Ḥunayn's Syriac usage may have differed from that found in the extant Syriac *Aphorisms*. The technical nature of several of the words considered allows for deeper insight into the specific contributions of Ḥunayn to Arabic medical translation. The evidence in these first two chapters thus provides firm ground for comparing the translations of the *Aphorisms* and their lexicographical background at a larger scale.

PART TWO

COMPARING THE SYRIAC AND ARABIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE HIPPOCRATIC *APHORISMS*

CHAPTER THREE

The early Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* attributed to Sergius of Reš ʿAynā and ʿAbbāsīd-era Syriac and Arabic medical translation: A comparative study

In the previous chapters, I treated the lexicographical relationships among the several translations of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* on a word-by-word basis. In this chapter, I move to considering the translations at the sentence level of organization. Many of the trends observable in the previous chapter will also present themselves here, while other developments not noticeable at the level of individual words will also make their first appearances.

In particular, while the distinction between Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and the Syriac version in terms of adherence to the literal sense of the source-text has already been made clear in a general way, the key characteristics of the relationship between the early Arabic version and the other versions are not so easily discoverable at the lexical level. Furthermore, the very scanty remains of the early Syriac version require more concentrated attention in order to be made comprehensible in any general sense. For these reasons, I have chosen to consider several texts of the *Aphorisms* on the basis of their being represented in these

earlier versions.

Although I shall not consider systematically all of the terminology present in these aphorisms, in several cases terminological variation makes consideration of the Greek entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* useful. In these contexts I shall provide analyses of the relationship between these and the translations of the *Aphorisms*, following the same general approach as that adopted in the previous chapter. Furthermore, in several contexts there will arise opportunities to consider entries for Syriac terms that translate Greek words not represented in Duval's index to bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. In this way our understanding of the usefulness of the *Lexicon* for studies of these translations will be further extended.

As discussed in the introduction to the thesis, Grigory Kessel has extracted the text of seven aphorisms from the Syriac *Commentary on the Epidemics*. Of these seven aphorisms, four are also found translated in the fragments of the early Arabic version, as contained in the Arabic Palladius and/or al-Ya'qūbī's *History*. Since these four allow for the fullest consideration of the Syro-Arabic translation tradition of the *Aphorisms*, I will consider these in Section One. I will then proceed to treat of the three that have no corresponding text in the *History* or in the Phoenix MS in Section Two.

For each aphorism, the texts will be presented in chronological order according to the current scholarly understanding of their periodization, except where otherwise noted. First I shall provide the Greek text of the aphorism for reference. The early Syriac fragment will be presented next, followed by the early Arabic fragments. Then I will give the texts from the Syriac *Aphorisms*, followed by those from Ḥunayn's Arabic translation.

Ḥunayn's Arabic *Aphorisms* (hereafter A)

إذا كان النوم في مرض من الأمراض يحدث وجعاً فذلك من علامات الموت، وإذا كان النوم ينفع فليس ذلك من علامات الموت.

When, in one of the diseases, sleep brings pain, that is (one of) the signs of death, but when sleep benefits, that is not (one of) the signs of death.

The Greek text of the aphorism consists of two conditional sentences resolved by predication. The adjective θανάσιμον has the same form in both instances. When comparing the four translations, one may note immediately that the two later versions preserve this symmetry while the two earlier versions do not. The predicate in the Syriac *Aphorisms* in both sentences is *d-mawta-w* ‘(it) is deadly’, and in Ḥunayn's version both sentences conclude with *dhālika min ‘alāmāt al-mawt* ‘that is (one of) the signs of death’. This contrasts with the varying grammatical approaches of the earlier two aphorisms. The fragment from the Syriac *Epidemics* uses *d-mawta-y* ‘(it) is deadly’ in the first sentence but *iṭēh d-mawta* ‘it brings death’ in the second. The early Arabic version gives *dhālika yumūt* ‘that kills’ for the first sentence but *(laysa) bi-mayyitin* ‘(is not) deadly’ for the second. The two later translations thus appear to reflect a greater concern for rendering the style of the Greek original.

The version in the Syriac *Aphorisms* is the most literal translation of the four. Only a few particles of the Greek original are left unrendered, and no new text is added. Both of the Arabic versions add material, with Ḥunayn's version in particular making somewhat extensive expansions to the text. The early Syriac version in contrast does not translate the entire text, neglecting to translate the word $\tilde{\omega}$ νοσήματι ‘diseases’. The only substantive difference in the relatively simple terminology of the aphorism is found in the Syriac translations of the verb

ὠφελῆ ‘it benefits’. The early Syriac version translates this word with *tawtar*, while the later translates it with *mahnnyā*, both of which carry the same general sense as the Greek.

Aphorism ii. 9

Τὰ σώματα χρή, ὅκου τις βούλεται καθαίρειν, εὐροα ποιεῖν.

E.

حجج قضا امطا وبرجا امه ححصصه. فعتصم ححصصه/سبح.

For bodies, when someone desires that they be purified, he makes them easy of flowing.

P.

ينبغي لمن أراد تنقية الاجساد ان ينقيها قبل ذلك أى بإذابة ما فيها من الكيموس الغليظ.

It is necessary for the one who desires the purification of bodies that he purify them before that, that is, by liquefaction of whatever thick humours are in them.

S.

ححصصه/اصلا ورجا امه وبرجا امه. وحتند ححصصه زوم ححصصه امه.

For bodies, when someone desires to purify them, he should make them easily flowing.

H.

كلّ بدن تريد تنقيته فينبغي أن تجعل ما تريد إخراجة منه يجري فيه بسهولة.

(For) every body that you desire to purify, it is necessary for you to make that

(thing) whose expulsion you desire easily flowing in it.

In comparing these four texts, one notices immediately the substantial concord between the two Syriac versions and Ḥunayn's Arabic version against the early Arabic translation. All of the former three follow the source-text by beginning the aphorism with a phrase referring to the body, while the latter departs from the text by placing the word *al-ajsād* in the middle of the sentence instead. This appearance is even more noticeable in the treatments of the word εὔροα. The Syriac versions and Ḥunayn's version all translate εὔροα with various phrases signifying 'easily flowing'. The early Arabic version departs significantly from the Greek original, however. It translates εὔροα ποιεῖν with the causative form of the same verb already used to translate καθαίρειν, *naqiya* 'to purify'. Then follows the explication *ay bi-idhāba mā fihā min al-kaymūs al-ghalīz* 'that is, by liquefaction of whatever thick humours are in them'. The introduction of the term *idhāba* heightens the level of lexical sophistication of the aphorism, but in general the translation's departures from the original tend to obscure the sense of the text. This lack of precision in translation was likely what made the explication appear necessary in the first place.

In some ways, Ḥunayn's version differs from the other three translations. Whereas the two Syriac versions and the early Arabic translation render the third-person verb βούλεται with third-person forms, it appears that Ḥunayn translated it with a second-person form. Although this judgment rests entirely upon small dots in the manuscripts that are often subject to variation, according to Mimura's apparatus the manuscripts are very consistent in making these verbs second person. Ḥunayn's translation is also somewhat more expansive in its treatment of the terminology in comparison with the Syriac versions, adding explicative

phrases like *mā turīdu ikhrājahū minhu* ‘that (substance) whose expulsion you desire’. This does not affect the clarity of his translation, however.

Each of the four translations gives a distinct equivalent for the Greek word σώματα. This word is strongly represented in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, and the entries for the Syriac terms provide very interesting background into the translation techniques used in producing these texts. I shall thus compare the translations of this word in the context of their lexicographical background, following a similar method to that adopted in the previous two chapters:

σῶμα/σώματα/σώματιον

218:4 אַסּוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא

Asomaṭā according to Sergius, bodies (*gušmē*), persons, and substances according to one of the Greeks. *Bodies* (al-ajsām), *persons*, *substances*.

1311:16 סּוֹמָא סּוֹמָא סּוֹמָא סּוֹמָא

Somā, this is the body (*pagrā*).

1311:26 אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא

סּוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא אֲסוֹמַתָּא

Somaṭā and *asomaṭā*, embodied (things) (*gšimē*) and unembodied (things).

Sonaṭā and *asonaṭā*, the embodied (al-mutajassimūn) and the unembodied.

According to Sergius *somaṭā* and *asomaṭā*, body (*gušmā*) and not-body.

Given that the body is the proper focus of the medical art, forms of the word

σῶμα are found numerous times throughout the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*. Ḥunayn's Arabic version, the Syriac translation, and the early Arabic translation are all strongly consistent in their renderings of it. Save for one instance, and a few cases where he omitted it as superfluous to the sense of the text, Ḥunayn rendered the word with a form of *al-badan*. The only major exception occurs in his translation of vii. 40, where he translated τι τοῦ σώματος with *uḏwin min al-a'dā* 'one of the parts'. For their part, the extant lemmas of the early Arabic translation consistently translate forms of σῶμα with forms of *al-jasad*. The Syriac translator employed *pagrā* in every translated instance of the term save one: for the first of the three occurrences of the word in aphorism ii. 15, the broadly synonymous word *gušmā* is given instead.

Three examples from the fragments of the Hippocratic lemmas in the *Syriac Commentary on the Epidemics* also exist. In aphorisms ii. 9 and iv. 13 the early Syriac version translates σῶμα with *gušmā* 'body', as discussed above. If these may be taken to indicate the translator's habitual translation of σῶμα, a clear contrast may thus be observed between the two Syriac versions. In aphorism ii. 6, the translator of this version renders the phrase ὁκόσοι πονέοντές τι τοῦ σώματος with *aylēn d-maḳebbin b-medem* 'those who feel pain in something'. It may be that a word has dropped out of the text.

The number of instances where Ḥunayn's Arabic omits the term σῶμα as superfluous to the sense of the aphorism is significantly greater than the number of instances where the Syriac version does so. This phenomenon occurs by my count five times in Ḥunayn's Arabic but only once in the Syriac version.¹⁶² All of

162. This occurs in Ḥunayn's translations of aphorisms vi. 56, vii. 28, vii. 60, vii. 61, and vii. 74. The Syriac omits any translation of σῶμα in aphorism ii. 7.

the occurrences in the Arabic version are near the end of the work. Also in a few places, despite choosing to translate an instance of $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$, Ḥunayn modifies its position in the aphorism.¹⁶³ This type of transposition generally does not occur in the Syriac version. Ullmann notices two translations of this word in Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six. Although he indicates that one of the early Arabic examples is corrupt, the other translates with *al-abdān*, and so is close to Ḥunayn's translations of it in the *Aphorisms*.¹⁶⁴

Although the entries for $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ extant in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* contain several elements of interest, none of them relate directly to Ḥunayn's Arabic translation. The strong representation of Sergius' lexicographical material bears closer attention, however. In the entry found at 218:4, Sergius is cited for a three-word definition of the Greek term. This definition is then repeated in Arabic at the end of the entry. Since Sergius lived nearly a century before the Arab conquest of the Syriac-speaking lands, it is safe to assume that he was not the author of this Arabic definition. Thus we may note that bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* gives evidence that Sergius' lexicographical work was translated into Arabic. Further research may demonstrate whether or not this translation was systematic. In the entry attributed to Sergius, the equivalent for $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ used in the early Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms*, *gušmā*, is found. In the unattributed entry at 1311:16, the equivalent used in the later Syriac translation is found instead.

The entries at 1311:16 and 1311:26 contain material likely attributable to Ḥunayn. One may imagine the former entry being drawn from a translator's working glossary. The latter entry allows Ḥunayn's (presumed) lexicography to

163. This occurs in Ḥunayn's translations of aphorisms ii. 51 and v. 69.

164. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 664-665.

متما حسب هذا فنح اجزيها همدنا. هفجنا ههقهاها هلامنح. هأمرنا وحمدنا. هص سحق بقدا حقينا.
هفنج اهد كنعما ههههه. هكمهوا اهدا مننهال هههههه هأصنح وهدلهل وفتنح بقدا هج همدوهال. الامتنح
هههقا اهدا بقدا سك وهسلا هحنكلا الجسد»

Pagrā, corpus, body. *Pagrā* according to bar Serošway, the definite arrangement of the living members according to the wisdom of its Creator, *the body* (al-jasad) and *I say the body* (al-badan). *The bishop of the Holy House known as ‘Alī ibn ‘Ubayd suggested to me that it is ‘al-fajr’ but for me it is ‘al-faghr’.* *Pagrā msayytā, flammable body.* *Pagrā* according to bar Serošway, the arrangement and order of the natural members, for every body that is has arrangement and order in its members. But there are ordered members which are not bodies, such as the members of a statue. *The body* (al-jasad). *Pagrā*, the Greeks call the body and the tomb by this single name. *Pagrē* are named *somātā*, and as though in tombs, thus are souls confined in the body. Again, the soul is called *psukē*, meaning cold, as coldness is *psukus*. They say that because souls are called by their best element, souls (*psukē*), meaning souls (*napšātā*), are so-called because of the rational spirits. *The body* (al-jasad).

These entries contain several important elements which deserve scrutiny. First among them is the presence of Ḥunayn's preferred translation of σῶμα in the *Aphorisms*, *al-badan*, in the entry for *pagrā* beginning at 1487:23. Although the definition in which it occurs is ascribed by bar Bahlul to bar Serošway, external evidence may be adduced to argue that it ought rather to be attributed to Ḥunayn. Consider the following entry from bar ‘Ali's *Lexicon*:

ܦܓܪܐ. بدن جسد. صفة: ال ووهل متا ووهل متا امب مصدله ووهل متا.¹⁶⁵

Pagrā, *body* (badan), *body* (jasad). The arrangement of the living members within limits according to the wisdom of the Creator.

The Syriac definition found here is almost identical to the first Syriac definition in bar Bahlul's entry at 1487:23. As discussed in the Introduction, according to his own testimony bar 'Ali relied in important respects on Ḥunayn's lexicon in the production of his own work, and there is no indication that he was familiar with bar Serošway's glossary. Thus it seems either that bar Serošway reproduced Ḥunayn's definition in his own lexicography or that the text of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* is mistaken in its attribution of this definition.

It is somewhat surprising that the Arabic equivalent for σῶμα which Ḥunayn so systematically preferred in his translation of the *Aphorisms* should be so little represented in both the Greek and Syriac entries of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. This effect is heightened by the discussion of the two possible Arabic equivalents 'al-fajr' and 'al-faghr' mentioned near the beginning of 1487:23. These two words are both potential Arabisations of the Syriac word *pagrā*. The bishop's suggestion *al-fajr*, however, neglects the spirantisation of the medial *gāmal*, while the lexicographer's suggestion *al-faghr* apparently reflects the preference that the spirantisation be retained.

This indicates that these translators were unsatisfied with the usual Arabic equivalents for *pagrā* and were seeking alternatives. The reason for this is arguably that the Syriac words clearly express two different senses of the concept 'body', as may be seen in comparing the two entries translated above. *Gušmā* and

165. Gottheil, *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, II 241:10.

related terms refer to objects having material extension broadly considered, while *pagrā* refers strictly to the bodies of living things. This entry thus allows us to observe some of the process by which medical Arabic was formed in relation to notions embedded in the Syriac lexicon. Less attention is devoted to the Arabic equivalent of *gušmā*, since both *jasad* and *jism* may convey the broader meaning of ‘body’. *Jism* is etymologically related to *gušmā* and accords with it in meaning very closely, and it is furthermore absent from the entry on *pagrā*.

Aphorism iv. 13

Πρὸς τοὺς ἔλληβόρους τοῖσι μὴ ῥηιδίως ἄνω καθαιρομένοισι, πρὸ τῆς πόσιος προὔγραίνειν τὰ σώματα πλείονι τροφῇ καὶ ἀναπαύσει.

E.

طاحنه، امح به عصمانه صلبه، وم حصمه ه لخصه حيه معدا.

In [giving] hellebore (*b-alebārun*) [to] those who are not purged easily, it is necessary beforehand to make the body moist.

P.

عند شرب الأدوية والخربق ينبغي أن يرطب أجساد الذين لا تخف التنقية عليهم من فوق قبل الدواء بكثرة الطعام.

In [giving] purging drink and hellebore (*al-kharbaq*), it is necessary to make moist bodies for whom purging from above is not [borne] lightly, before the purging, with much food.

S.

رب مصلا وسدحاصل جسمه، وكد جسمه صلبا وصح به حنكاً وبصبره يوم صبره مصه حنكاً حنكاً
صحتنا بالمتال حسنا.

In [giving] the hellebore drink (*šeqyā d-ḥurbaknā*) to those who would not easily be purged from above from before, it is necessary before the drink that one make their bodies moist with much food and rest.

H.

من احتاج إلي أن يسقى الخريق وكان استفراغه من فوق لا يأتية بسهولة فينبغي أن يرطب بدنه من قبل إسقائه إيها
بغذاء أكثر وبالراحة.

One who needs to be given hellebore (*al-kharbaq*) to drink, but whose purging from above does not come easily, must have his body made moist, before his being given it to drink, with more food and rest.

Of these four translations, the version taken from the Syriac *Epidemics* stands out as abbreviated when compared with the other three versions. This could indicate that it was an *ad hoc* translation, or that it was for some other reason not intended to stand as a translation of the entire text. It omits any reference to ‘from above’ (ἄνω) or to food (τροφῆ) Whatever the reason for it, its abbreviation makes comparison of it with the other texts of limited utility.

The Syriac version and Ḥunayn's translation both follow the word-order of the Greek original more closely than does the early Arabic translation. This is most evident in the early Arabic version's placement of the phrase ‘to liquify bodies’ before the phrase ‘purging from above’. In the corresponding text of the original aphorism and of the two later translations, these phrases occur in the opposite order. In considering the translation of the first phrase, there is an

example of the Syriac version's greater literalness when compared with Ḥunayn's translation. The Syriac's word order follows the source-text's as closely as possible, with almost every word translated literally. Although Ḥunayn's translation does not make any great departure from the source-text, the changes he introduced, such as introducing the aphorism with *man ihtāj ilā* 'one who requires' instead of with a simple preposition, indicate less concern to follow the text literally.

The only terminological element of any interest is the translations of τοῦς ἐλλεβόρους. In the early Syriac version, the borrowed Greek word is employed, while in the later Syriac translation the native equivalent *ḥurbaknā* is used. For their parts, both of the Arabic translations employ the same word *al-kharbaq*. The Syriac translations thus show at least a superficial process of development, while the Arabic approach to translating this word appears to have been stable from the earliest period of Greek-to-Arabic medical translation.

Aphorism vi. 31

Ὅδυνας ὀφθαλμῶν ἀκρητοποσίη ἢ λουτρὸν ἢ πυρίη ἢ φλεβοτομή ἢ φαρμακείη λύει.

E.

ܘܕܝܢܐ ܕܘܥܝܢܐ ܕܠܘܬܪܘܢܐ ܘܢܝܗܘܢܐ ܘܦܘܪܝܐ ܘܦܠܝܒܘܬܘܡܝܐ ܘܦܐܪܡܐܟܝܐ ܠܝܘܥܝܐ.

For pain of the eyes, pure wine, washings, fomentations, blood-letting, or a drink of medicine cures.

P.

شرب الخمر صرفاً والكماد الحارّ وقطع العروق وشرب الدواء يحلّ وجع العينين.

A draught of pure wine, hot fomentations, cutting the veins, and draughts of medicine resolve pain of the eyes.

S.

حاجاج وحتنا عصا وسعدا سا هذا. اذ حيا. اذ ههسا. اذ ههه هههه. اذ ههه هههه هذا.

For pain of the eyes, a draught of pure wine cures; a bath, a fomentation, venesection, or a draught of medicine cures.

H.

أوجاع العينين يحلّها شرب الشراب الصرف أو الحمام أو التكميد أو فصد العرق أو شرب الدواء.

Pains of the eyes are resolved by draughts of pure wine, baths, fomentations, venesection, or draughts of medicine.

Several points of contrast may be noted when comparing these translations. Both of the Syriac versions render the Greek text more literally than do either of the Arabic translations. This is especially true of the earlier Syriac translation, given that the later version does depart slightly from the source-text in that it repeats the verb *šrā* 'cures', while the Greek original gives the verb *λυεῖ* only once. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation for its part follows the source-text's word order slightly more closely than does the early Arabic version, in that the former text begins with 'pains of the eyes', as does the Greek original, while the latter places the corresponding phrase at the end of the aphorism. Ḥunayn however wrote the verb immediately following the introductory phrase. In this he appears to have preferred to conform to classical Arabic usage by introducing the main clause

with the verb. The text of the early Arabic version from Houtsma's edition also neglects to translate λουτρόν.

Compared to the aphorisms treated above, this text contains a greater variety of vocabulary. Although the Greek words are rather thinly represented in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, a brief comparison of the variations observable in the Syriac terminology with their corresponding entries in the *Lexicon* should prove of interest.

First, we may observe that the Greek word λουτρόν is translated differently in the two Syriac versions. The early translation gives *mashūtā* 'washing'. An entry for this word in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* reads as follows:

1115:3 **ܩܒܘܠܗ** اقول الغسل»

Mashūtā, I say washing.

For its part, the Syriac *Aphorisms* translates this word with *banā* 'bath'. Although this Syriac word does not appear to have its own entry in the *Lexicon*, it is possible to discover it elsewhere. For example, consider these entries:

394:22 **ܠܐܒܘܢܐ** هانا الحمام»

Balanin, this is baths (*banā*), *baths* (al-ḥammām).

399:20 **ܠܗܝܠܐ** و هي حمامة طالب و هي حمامة هاستنا جيجيو. خيل يبيحتنا حمامي.

خياب الحمام»

Balanā according to our teacher, the Greek *balānin* (βαλανεῖον) is the same as a *bath* (ḥammām). According to translations (*yubālē*), a bath (*balanā*). (According to) others a bath (*balanas*). *Banē ḥabnārā*, a bath attendant (ḥammāmī). *Balani*,

baths.

403:1 حَبَّةُ الْجَنَّةِ الحَمَامَاتِ. خَيْتَا بَحْتَا حَمَامِيَّ

Bnawāṭā, baths (*banās*), *baths*. *Banē ḥabnārā*, a bath attendant (*ḥammāmī*).

The profusion of Syriac terms derived from the Greek βαλανείον makes it somewhat difficult to situate the specific word *banā* within the lexicographical tradition. However, the presence of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of λουτρόν, *al-ḥammām*, in close proximity to *banā*, the translation of that word given in the Syriac *Aphorisms*, may be contrasted with the lack of correspondence between the equivalent given in the older Syriac translation and Ḥunayn's Arabic version. This suggests a closer relationship between Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and the later Syriac version.

Another significant difference between the two Syriac versions is found in the translations of the Greek word φλεβοτομία. The fragment from the *Epidemics* gives *šbāq dmā* 'blood-letting', while the text of the Syriac *Aphorisms* gives *psāq waridā* 'venesection'. The latter translation is more literal and more technical. The *Lexicon* does not appear to contain any specific reference to the practice of venesection in connection with the Syriac words used in either translations. However, a third phrase with the same meaning is referred to in the entry beginning at 2089:16 for for 'trā 'ā', where this definition is found:

2089:18 ... لاؤم ... فصد العرق فصد العروق

... *trā ' waridā*, opening of a vein, opening of veins.

This definition conforms to Ḥunayn's usage in his Arabic translation of the

Aphorisms, where he gives *faṣd al-ʿurūq* ‘venesection, opening of veins’ for φλεβοτομή. It contrasts, however, with the early Arabic translator's somewhat less technical equivalent of this Greek word *qaṭʿ al-ʿurūq* ‘cutting of the veins’. This evidence tentatively suggests that Ḥunayn preferred a different usage in his Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* from either of those employed in the extant translations.

Section Two

For the following three aphorisms, the early Arabic translation is not extant.

Aphorism ii. 6

Ὅκοσοι, πονέοντες τι τοῦ σώματος, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πόνων μὴ αἰσθάνονται, τούτοισιν ἡ γνώμη νοσεῖ.

E.

ألمح وحصاح حصبر حصصا لا حصصا: ألمح حصصا حصصا.

Those who suffer pain in some part, but do not sense most of the pain: the mind of these people is diseased.

S.

ألمح وحصاح حصبر حصصا: ألمح وحصصا لا حصصا حصصا.

When part of some (peoples') body pains them, (but) mostly they do not sense the

pains, their judgment is diseased.

H.

من يوجعه شيء من بدنه ولا يحس بوجعه في أكثر حالاته فعقله مختلط.

One to whom a part of his body causes pain, but he does not sense its pain in the majority of its circumstances, (this means that) his mind is confused.

The Syriac versions of aphorism ii. 6 differ from one another in several respects. In some ways, the later Syriac version is closer to the Greek original than is the earlier one. For example, in it the first word ὀκόσοι is translated with *kad*, but in the early translation that Greek word has no equivalent. The translations of the clause τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πόνων μὴ αἰσθάνονται also differ in that the early translator interpreted the genitive plural τῶν πόνων to refer back to τὰ πολλὰ in the sense of ‘most of the pains’, while the later translator read it as a genitive construct agreeing with the verb αἰσθάνονται, in the sense of ‘not having perception of the pains’. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation agrees with the later Syriac translation in its interpretation of this element of the Greek text.

The most interesting differences amongst the three translations lie in their varying renditions of the noun ἡ γνώμη. Here I consider the lexicographical background to these translations:

γνώμη

504:3 ܩܘܡܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܘܐ ܕܘܚܡܐ ܕܗܘܘܐ

Gnomê, this is will, mind (*re ḡānā*), intellect (*tar ḡtā*), will.

Madd'ā again, it is mind (*idda'īā*), one of the powers of the soul in its activity in the heart.

This entry refers to both religious and philosophical texts to give specific definition to the faculty of the mind amongst the rich psychological terminology of Syriac. For our purposes, two aspects stand out. First, the Arabic terms given in the initial definition attributable to Ḥunayn include both of the Arabic equivalents for γνώμη to be found in the translator's version of the *Aphorisms*. Second, bar Serošway's detailed account of the term clearly makes the concept *tar'ītā* a subsidiary product of the action of the mind. The implications of this may be seen more clearly when the entry for *tar'ītā* itself is considered:

2090:6 اوحدها روية رأي او نية تطوية اى وصا الفكر. حتا اوحدها اهل الرأي. حى هذه اهد اوحدها ححا
 وسمعتا صصاه صه ححا هخج حصا وحصه. هاف وحسا حح اوحدها صعبه الفكر والفهم والنية
 والرأي. اوحدها بوتهما اى حى هذه فهم عقلي فكرة عقلية. حى حن وحصلا. هالصح اوحدها بصقه ححا وأمنع
 ذوي الاباب الرأي والفهم»

Tar'ītā, deliberation, opinion, or intention. In a manuscript innermost conviction. According to Zakariya thought. *Bnay tar'ītā*, people of opinion (ahl al-ra'y). (According to) bar Serošway, again, *tar'ītā*, the end of thoughts secretly within the heart upon which (one) makes examination. For *tar'ītā* is distinct from *re'yānā* ('mind'), thought, understanding, intention, or opinion. *Tar'ītā hawnānāyā*, rational understanding, rational thought. In a manuscript, that which is in an apostle. Intellect restrains folly, it restrains those who possess understanding. Opinion, understanding.

Drawing on this material, it is clear that to say that someone's *madd'ā* is disordered, as does the early Syriac translation of aphorism ii. 6, is quite different from saying that someone's *tar'ūtā* is disordered, as does the later Syriac version of that aphorism. The latter translation both is the more specific of the two and is represented in the short entry for γνώμη attributable to Ḥunayn provided at the beginning of this discussion. This constitutes a link between the translator's lexicography and the Syriac *Aphorisms*. On the other hand, the presence of Ḥunayn's Arabic equivalents for γνώμη taken from his translation of the *Aphorisms* in the entry for *madd'ā* and the concurrent absence of those equivalents from the entry for *tar'ūtā* rather suggest a link between Ḥunayn's Arabic translation techniques and the former Syriac term rather than the latter.

The source of this discrepancy could perhaps be located in the differing conceptual scope of these Syriac and Arabic psychological terms. Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* does not provide an exact Arabic equivalent for *tar'ūtā*. In other words, the term's precise connotation of 'the faculty of mind that deals with the final products of thought, such as opinion or intention' is not represented in the lexicographical work presented here. When rendering *tar'ūtā* into Arabic without an exact equivalent, either the first element of this concept, i. e. 'faculty of mind', could be retained, or the second, i. e. 'intention or opinion'. In the context of aphorism ii. 6, it is clear that the element 'faculty of mind' is closer to the general sense of the text. For this reason, the Arabic terminology given in the entry for *madd'ā* better renders the Greek than that given for *tar'ūtā*.

The difference between the two translations' approaches to translating γνώμη in aphorism ii. 6 may also be due to the translators' responses to Galen's commentary on the aphorism. Ḥunayn rendered the end of Galen's commentary by writing '(I)n this place there is no difference between my saying mind (*'aql*),

والأمراض كلها تحدث في أوقات السنة كلها إلا أن بعضها في بعض الأوقات أخرى بأن تحدث وتهيج.

All diseases occur at all times of the year, but at some of these times it is more to be expected that they occur or exacerbate.

The Greek text of this aphorism is very concise. The early Syriac version strongly reflects this concision, while the later Syriac version and Ḥunayn's Arabic translation both add significant material to the text in order to clarify it for their readers. This is particularly the case in the translations of the phrase δ' ἔνια κατ' ἐνίας αὐτέων. In the Greek, both the substantives from the initial sentence, νοσήματα and ὄρησι, are subsumed under the pronouns in that phrase. The early Syriac translator preferred to translate the text literally without any explication, while the two later translations repeat one or both of the equivalent words. Ḥunayn in his Arabic translation chose to interpret the adverb μάλλον without reference to quantity, instead giving the word *ahṛā* 'more appropriate' in its place. In this the Arabic version contrasts slightly with both of the Syriac translations.

The verb παροξύνεται provides an opportunity to consider the very interesting Syriac and Arabic terminology for this medical phenomenon both in the *Aphorisms* and in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. I shall treat here the scholarly background to the translations of this and related terms.

παροξυσμός

Although forms of this word occur several times in the *Aphorisms*, none of the entries in Duval's Greek index to bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* refer to any of them directly. Forms of two quite distinct Syriac terms translate παροξυσμός and the

related verb παροξύνω in the *Aphorisms*. The more common of the two, *dāyā*, is employed for eight of the nine occurrences of these words. In aphorism iii. 19, however, the verb *metmarmrin* serves to translate the verb παροξύνεται instead. Of these eight examples, iii. 19 is the only extant example from the early Syriac translation. There, the same word *metmarmrin* is used in place of παροξύνεται as well.

For his part Ḥunayn employed a variety of words as equivalents for παροξυσμός in his Arabic translation, including *dawr* ‘periodic exacerbation’, *nawb* ‘paroxysm’, and the verb *hāja* ‘to exacerbate’. In one of the three instances of these words in aphorism i. 11, he apparently interpreted παροξυσμός to be synonymous with ἀκμή, and gave the translation *waqt muntahā al-maraḍ* ‘the time of the height of the disease’.¹⁷⁰

Several aphorisms containing these words survive from the early Arabic translation. These examples also display a variety of approaches to the translation of παροξυσμός. Generally in these translations the term *ihṭiyāj* serves to render the Greek word. In cases where the phrase κατὰ περιόδους accompanies it, however, the translator interpreted the word to signify a particular type of fever, and so rendered it with phrases like *al-ḥummā allatī ta’rid ḥīna ba’da ḥīna* ‘fevers that recur periodically’. In a single example in aphorism ii. 13, the phrase *ḥidda al-maraḍ* ‘sharpening of the disease’ translates the Greek word.

Several of these examples invite closer scrutiny, but before proceeding to that, I would like to examine the entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the Syriac equivalents for παροξυσμός, as they will help greatly to clarify this relative variety of terminology. An entry for the word *murmārā* reads like this:

170. See unit (1.2.4) above.

دور الحمى عبوق الحمى وللثاني احتياج الحمى. حَبَلٌ وَلَا مَعْبُوبٌ مِنْ حَيْثُ هُنَا أَدْوَارٌ غَيْرٌ مُسْتَوِيَةٌ. حَبَلٌ مِنْ أَدْوَارِ الْمَدِّ وَالْجَزْرِ. حَبَلٌ مِنْ أَدْوَارِ الْحُمَّى الَّتِي لَا تَتَوَّبُ أَدْوَارٌ غَيْرٌ مُسْتَوِيَةٌ»

Āday 'alaw, this is 'passing it by', *he supposed he Arabicized it as 'he passed it by on his way'*. *Ādāyā* 'alaw according to bar Serošway, *it overcame him and conquered him*. *Ādên* 'alay nesyunē, *evils befell me*. *Ādên ḥašē*, *pains overpowered*. *Dāyā* and *murmārā* differ, according to bar Serošway, for *dāyā* is used for periodic fevers, while *murmārā* (is used) mostly for continuous fevers. *The first is called qild al-ḥummā, nawba al-ḥummā, also dawr al-ḥummā and ūbūq al-ḥummā, while the second is called ihtiyāj al-ḥummā*. *Dāyē d-lā šāwēn* according to bar Serošway, *uneven paroxysms (adwār ghayr mustawiya)*. *Dāyā wa-tawbā*, *flow and ebb*. *Dāyā d-ešātā* ('paroxysm of a fever'), *fevers which do not exacerbate (tanūb), uneven paroxysms*.

Of central importance are the parallel definitions of *dāyā* and *murmārā* which figure in the entries at 1042:1 and 1406:5. Besides the fact that bar Bahlul did not attribute the definition at 1042:1 to a specific lexicographer, the strong parallels between the terminology of the translations of *παροξυσμός* in the *Aphorisms* and that of these definitions should allow for their authorship to be attributed strongly to Ḥunayn. Although most of the manuscripts used by Duval attribute the version in the entry at 1406:5 to Bar Serošway, according to the editor's apparatus two of his manuscripts read *ayk rabban* 'according to our teacher (Ḥunayn)'. On the basis of the evidence presented below, I believe the alternate reading attributing the definition to Ḥunayn is likely the more accurate of the two. Such a reading is substantiated, furthermore, by an entry in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon*. There, the following entry is found:

مؤقتاً. ص. ر. ق. ل. ه. ح. م. معتمد حتماً¹⁷³ في وضع من هذه الهمم حياقتاً تحبها قهها: مؤقتاً وب
طهراً أصبلاً من الهمم. ويقال للاول قلد الحمى ونوبة الحمى ودور الحمى ويقال الثاني اهتياج الحمى إسقاط
احتداد.¹⁷⁴

Murmārē, with long-a for the *mim* and *‘dāyē* differ, for *‘dāyē* is properly used for periodic fevers, while *murmārē* is (used) mostly for continuous fevers. *The first is called qild al-ḥummā, nawba al-ḥummā, or dawr al-ḥummā, while the second is called ihtiyāj al-ḥummā. Exacerbation, sharpening (ihtidād).*

If we look closely at the examples from the *Aphorisms*, we see that the distinction introduced in the Syriac terminology between the paroxysm of recurrent fevers, *‘dāyā* and that of the continuous fever, *murmārā*, is faithfully carried over into Ḥunayn's Arabic translation as well. In the vast majority of the instances where *‘dāyā* or a related verb occur in the Syriac *Aphorisms*, Ḥunayn employed one of the words mentioned in the definition of that word in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. The only exception is found in aphorism i. 11, where *waqt muntahā al-marād* ‘the time of the height of the disease’ is found instead, as mentioned above. However, as expected from his definition, in the one case where a verb related to *murmārā* is found, Ḥunayn translated it with the verb *hāja*, which is related to *ihtiyāj*, the word associated with *murmārā* in the entries from the lexicons.

Several points of interest may be noted in relation to these examples. Most importantly, the Syriac terminology had evidently developed a higher degree of terminological specificity relative to the Greek. Whereas the text of the *Aphorisms* refers to the exacerbations of periodic fevers and continuous fevers

173. Hoffmann: حتماً.

174. Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen*, 218:5585.

with the same term, παροξυσμός, the Syriac text introduces terms that immediately distinguish between the two. The glossographers' sense of the superior precision of the Syriac terms perhaps allowed for the Greek term to be neglected entirely insofar as their work is reflected in the entries of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. Furthermore, the correspondence between the terminology present in the translations of the *Aphorisms* and the definitions of *ḏāyā* and *murmārā* strongly indicate Syriac influence upon Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*. On the basis of this evidence, the distinction between the Syriac terms used as equivalents for παροξυσμός in the Syriac *Aphorisms* constitutes an important example of terminological innovation in Syriac medicine. As shown by comparing his entries for these terms in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and his translation of the *Aphorisms*, Ḥunayn's Arabic translations faithfully maintained this terminological distinction.

Although the evidence for translations of παροξυσμός from the early Arabic translation is partial, lacking in particular the crucial aphorism iii. 19, comparing these texts with the evidence taken from the other translations provides some opportunity for considering their relationships with one another and with the lexicographical tradition. Perhaps the most interesting element of these comparisons is the correspondence between Ḥunayn's simple definition of *murmārā* in the entry at 1042:1, *iḥtidād*, and the early Arabic version's rendering of παροξυσμός in aphorism ii. 13, *ḥidda al-marād*. This may suggest that this definition of Ḥunayn's represents a continuation of an earlier stage of translation technique. In general, the early translator's approach to translating these terms was more haphazard than Ḥunayn's. Furthermore, he used the term reserved by Ḥunayn for the paroxysms of periodic diseases, *iḥtiyāj*, in several aphorisms where the context refers the term to the paroxysms of acute diseases, and where

the Syriac translation gives *ḏāyā* and not *murmārā*. This suggests that Ḥunayn could have been responsible for the transferral of this distinction, and at the least that it was not established in Arabic at the time of al-Biṭrīq's translation. Furthermore, the link between the Syriac terminology and Ḥunayn's Arabic translation on the one hand contrasts with the dissimilarity between the Syriac terminology and al-Biṭrīq's Arabic translation on the other. This is a strong indication that Ḥunayn employed developments in Syriac medical terminology in order to make his Arabic translations more precise.

Aphorism iii. 20

Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἥρος, τὰ μελαγχολικὰ καὶ τὰ μανικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ καὶ αἵματος
 ῥύσιες καὶ κυνάγχαι καὶ κορούζαι καὶ βράγχοι καὶ βῆχες καὶ λέπραι καὶ λειχῆνες
 καὶ ἀλφοὶ καὶ ἐξανθήσιες ἐλκώδεις πλεῖσται καὶ φύματα καὶ ἀρθριτικά.

E.

وَجاءوا في صيفهم حتى جازوا اصطلا هو هسقا¹⁷⁵ هو افصصا هو اذحا وها هو سصما صقبا هو هوزا وحتا
 هو سرتا هو تصا هو صققا هو سسسا هو ققلا هو طاب هتا.

Those (things) that occur in spring are the diseases of the sons of black bile, madnesses, epilepsy, flow of blood, canine angina, catarrh, leprosy, ringworms, itches, ulcerous eruptions, and pains of the joints.

S.

175. Kessel: هسقا.

I shall provide lexicographical studies for those terms in this aphorism that I have not yet considered. I shall then return to consider the implications of these comparisons for our understanding of the relationship between the three translations presented above.

μανία

989:15 جلاتل جنون هاب هة حد صفة سممال همنهال❖

Mānyā, *madness* (junūn), and according to Paul and bar Serošway, *madness* (*šanyutā*), rabidity.

Forms of *μανία*, the related adjective *μανικός*, and the related verb *μαίνομαι* occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. Despite their close relationship, the Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* approaches these words quite differently. For the two instances of the adjective employed as a substantive in aphorisms iii. 20 and iii. 22, the borrowed Greek word *maniya* ‘madness’ is employed. For the occurrences of the noun and the verb from book five on, however, forms of the native nouns *šnāyā* ‘frenzy’, *šānyutā* ‘madness’, and the verb *šnā* ‘to go mad’ are used instead. In aphorism iii. 20, the early Syriac version gives *šānyutā* ‘madness’, contrasting with the later version's employment of the borrowed Greek word. For its part, Ḥunayn's Arabic version consistently translates all of these words with a form of *al-junūn* ‘madness’ adding a form of the verb *uṣīb* ‘to be stricken’ to render the verbs. Although most of Ullmann's examples also employ *al-junūn*, he notes one translation of a form of adjective *μανικός* from Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* that

does occur in the later Syriac version of it.

gives a transliteration of the word.¹⁷⁸

The Greek lexicography in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* matches well with both the Syriac and Arabic equivalents. An entry for the Syriac equivalent *šnāyā* adds more detail:

1993:1 قتل مجنون معتوه مصاب. حملسا به حسه قد وسوسوا. تمنع الجنون. رصا خبل. هاس ح: هة
الهيمن. حص زوال. هتا اس ح: هة جنون هاه احبه له به ذهاب العقل... ويكون غير صورة العقلاء. او خالياً
عن صورة العقلاء»

Šānyā, a madman, an insane person, one stricken. In the Gospel, *šnaw lahon*, they were deluded. *Šānyutā*, madness. (According to) Zakariya, *confusion*. And according to bar Serošway, *madly in love*. In a manuscript, *departure*. *Šnāyā* according to bar Serošway, *madness* and again annihilation of the reason, *departure of reason... Šani*, he fed him, *he nourished him, he fed him, he was lacking the form of the rational, absent from the form of the rational*.

κυνάγχη

1740:18 هه ساص وجع الحلق والذبحة. هاس ح: هة هه ساص حصلا به محتال هه ساص وكنال ورم
العضل الداخل في الحنجرة»

Qunnānkê, pain of the throat, angina (al-dhibḥa). According to bar Serošway *qunākê*, a swelling in the innermost muscles of the throat, *swelling of the inner muscle in the throat*.

Forms of *κυνάγχη* occur six times in the *Aphorisms*. Both of the main translations

178. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 406.

are entirely consistent in their renderings of the term, the Syriac giving *ḥānoqā* ‘angina’, and Ḥunayn's Arabic giving *al-dhibḥa* with the same meaning. One aphorism from the early Arabic version containing *κυνάγχη* is extant, and there too *al-dhibḥa* is its translation. A single aphorism from the early Syriac version containing the word is also extant. The translation found there, *ḥānoqā kālbānā* ‘canine angina’, differs slightly from the later version's equivalent in that it gives reference to the etymological sense of the Greek word alongside the standard Syriac name for the disease.

The single entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for *κυνάγχη* contains two definitions of the term. The first, attributable to Ḥunayn, gives two Arabic equivalents for the Greek word, including *al-dhibḥa*, the translator's preferred equivalent in the *Aphorisms*. The second definition, attributed to bar Serošway, provides a brief symptomatological account of the disease first in Syriac and then almost identically in Arabic.

The definition in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* for the Syriac equivalent of *κυνάγχη* runs as follows:

763:14 *سقفل خنق. ن ابقلا وسهمل أنواع الخوانيق. سقفل الذبحة*»

Ḥanoqā, strangulation (khanq). In a manuscript *edša d-ḥanoqā, types of strangulation. Ḥanoqā, angina (al-dhibḥa)*.

It is clear from this evidence that this disease was clearly defined in both Syriac and Arabic. The presence of nearly univocal terminologies in both the Syriac and Arabic traditions, and the strong representation of these in the both the Greek and Syriac entries in the *Lexicon*, makes it certain on the basis of this material that these terms were well-established long before Ḥunayn's career.

κόρυζα

1752:2 ܩܘܪܝܙܐ ܥܢ ܒܪܕ ܗܘ ܗܝ ܥܢ ܩܘܪܝܙܐ ܨܪܝܩܐ ܘܢܝܒܐ ܗܝ ܨܝܨܝܩܐ ܕܙܘܟܐܡ ܕܗܝ

Qoruzā, in a manuscript *a cold* (bard), and according to bar Serošway *catarrh* (al-zukām), which is a flux that goes down to the nostrils, *catarrh* (al-zukām).

1754:7 ܩܘܪܝܙܐ ܗܝ ܥܢ ܩܘܪܝܙܐ ܨܪܝܩܐ ܕܙܘܟܐܡ ܕܗܝ ܨܝܨܝܩܐ ܕܙܘܟܐܡ ܕܗܝ

Qorizā according to bar Serošway *a catarrh* (*khabṭa*) *due to cold*.

Forms of the Greek word *κόρυζα* occur five times in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac version in each case translates with a form of the word *qurārā* ‘cold, catarrh’. In four of these five instances, Ḥunayn's Arabic translation gives forms of the word *al-zukām* ‘colds’, but in aphorism ii. 40, the nearly synonymous word *al-nazla* is found instead. Ullmann notes several other instances of this Greek word from various Arabic translations, all of which give forms of *al-zukām* as well.¹⁷⁹ The early Syriac version of iii. 20 is extant. As in the version of that aphorism found in the Syriac *Aphorisms*, it gives a form of *qurārā*.

The entries for the Greek word in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* corroborate only one of these three translations, that is, the more common Arabic equivalent *al-zukām*. Two other Arabic synonyms, *bard* and *khabṭa*, are also introduced there. Bar Serošway's definition at the end of the entry at 1752:2 gives a Syriac definition of the Arabic *al-zukām* in an interesting variation on the Syriac/Arabic bilingualism that characterizes these entries, which usually proceed in the

179. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 363.

opposite order of languages.

Turning to bar Bahlul's entry for the Syriac equivalent for κόρυζα in the *Aphorisms*, *qurārā*, we find the following text:

1757:13 هووؤا اسم رفة رتدا. حن التبريد ويقال على النزلة. منهما بصلا وهذا. الا انا حمر هكلا منهما وخبلا
 ووالا نزلة وأيضاً خبطة. ن النزلات التي يكون منها الزكام من البرد والحر. هاس ح: صفة وهذا ونسلا ص: وبعلا ووه
 هوهرا الزكام*

Qurārā according to Zakariya, *catarrh* (*nzārā*). In a manuscript, *chilling* (*al-tabrīd*), which is said of *catarrh* (*al-nazla*). Hoarseness, that is *catarrhs* (*dawbē*). But this occurs with cough and hoarseness supervening in the lungs. *Catarrh* (*al-nazla*), also *catarrh* (*khafṭa*). (In) a manuscript *catarrhs* (*al-nazlāt*) on account of which occur colds (*al-zukām*) due to (both) cold and heat. According to bar Serošway fluxes which come down from the head, which is *qorizā*, colds (*al-zukām*).

By virtue of the prominence of forms of the word *al-nazla* in this entry, we find here a fuller representation of the vocabulary of the Arabic *Aphorisms*. Not only is *al-nazla* represented, but the author of this entry, presumably Ḥunayn because of the citation of ‘a manuscript’, has also placed that term in a causal relationship with *al-zukām*. This emphasizes the exceptional character of Ḥunayn's translation of κόρυζα with *al-nazla* in ii. 40. Whether his text differed from the Syriac translator's or he simply preferred another interpretation, this discrepancy is yet another example of variation between the two translations.

A further problem arises, however, in that the material attributable to Ḥunayn in this entry tends to make *al-nazla* rather than *al-zukām* the Arabic equivalent of the Syriac *qurārā*, while the reverse is the case in the translations of the *Aphorisms*. This point is brought out further if we consider the translations of

the Greek word κατάρροος ‘catarrh’ in the *Aphorisms*. In all four instances of that term, *al-nazl* or *al-nazla* is the equivalent given by Ḥunayn, while *dawbā* is the standard equivalent in the Syriac version. Here is an entry for *dawbā* in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*:

536:19 ذهقل الزكام السيلان والإمضاء الحيض. حبرم وهدبهد ححبرم أقول يذبيبه. أم ح: صفة الذوبان النزلة.
 ذهقل النزف»

Dawbā, a cold (zukām), flow (of bodily fluid) and excretion,¹⁸⁰ menstruation. Something which melts something else, I say ‘yudhībuhū (it melted it)’. According to bar Serošway, *liquefaction* (al-dhawabān), *catarrh* (al-nazla). *Dawbā*, flows of blood (al-nazf).

The material attributable to Ḥunayn in this entry makes *al-zukām* equivalent to *dawbā*, while the definition attributed to bar Serošway makes *al-nazla* its equivalent. That Ḥunayn held *al-zukām* equivalent to *dawbā* is further indicated by the following entry from bar ‘Ali's *Lexicon*:

ذهقل ومصعلا هوزجلا هاد هوههصلا ونسبج جع وسعلا ويقال للأول النزف الحيض وللثاني الامذى وللثالث الزكام السيلان
 الذوبان.¹⁸¹

Dāwbā [is said] of menstrual blood, semen, or of fluxes that come down from the head. Al-nazf (flows of blood) (and) al-ḥayḍ (menstrual blood) are used for the

180. I take *al-imdhā*’ to be the verbal noun of the fourth form of the root *mdhy as found in Freytag's dictionary. Otherwise it is not represented in the dictionaries I have consulted.

181. Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen*, 109:3054.

first, al-imdhā (excretion) is used for the second, and al-zukām (catarrhs), al-saylān (flows), and al-dhawabān (liquefaction) are used for the third.

To recapitulate, in the Syriac translation κόρυζα is translated with *qurārā*, while κατάρροος is translated with *dawbā*. In Ḥunayn's Arabic *Aphorisms* and in other translations, κόρυζα is almost always translated with forms of *al-zukām*, while κατάρροος is generally translated with forms of *al-nazla*.¹⁸² Yet in several examples of Ḥunayn's lexicographical writing, these Syriac and Arabic equivalents are reversed: *al-nazla* is associated with *qurārā*, while *al-zukām* is associated with *dawbā*. Based on the lexicons, it would seem reasonable to expect that Ḥunayn's Syriac translation would have used these two Syriac words in a corresponding way to these two Arabic words, yet the opposite is the case in the extant Syriac *Aphorisms*.

The close relationship between these terms makes firm argumentation solely on the basis of these variations difficult. With that said, the lexicographical evidence combined with the regularity of the translations indicates a rupture between Ḥunayn's Syriac to Arabic lexicographical activity as preserved by bar Bahlul and the equivalents for κόρυζα and κατάρροος in the Syriac *Aphorisms*. This contributes further to the impression that Ḥunayn was not the author of the latter work.

βράγχοι

182. This equivalence also obtains in several translations of κατάρροος noted by Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, p. 333.

The following word in the aphorism, βράγχοι, is not represented in Duval's Greek index to bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. Furthermore, the early Syriac translation of it in the aphorism under consideration either was omitted by the translator or has dropped out of the text. The sense of βράγχοι is very close to that of κόρυζα, and the entries for the Syriac equivalents of it in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* contain material relevant to the discussion of the latter term given above.

Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* translates βράγχοι regularly with forms of the word *al-baḥūḥa* 'hoarseness', while the Syriac version gives as its equivalent forms *hurāšā* with the same meaning. If we consider the entries for the Syriac equivalent *hurāšā* in the lexicons, some notes of interest may be made:

734:1 سؤها عرفت أنه نبات حار إذا أكل أولاد الذبحة زعموا. صعلتبا ضبع حه سؤها المنحر والرقبة من الشاة. وقال لي سنان ابن ثابت أنه الذبحة بعينها. سؤها نزلة زكام. سؤها ذبحة»
Hurāšā, I know it to be a hot plant. If it is eaten it produces angina, they suppose.
 The people of Qatar say for *hurāšā*, the neck and collarbone of the ram. *Sinān ibn Thābit told me that it is specifically angina. Hurāšā, catarrh (nazla), a cold (zukām). Hurāšā, angina.*

Another entry for the term is found in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon*:

سؤها. البحوحة في الصوت النزلة يكون منها الزكام ويكون من حرارة وما كان من برودة يسمى سؤها.¹⁸³
Hurāšā. Hoarseness (al-baḥūḥa) in the voice, catarrhs (al-nazla) due to which occur colds (al-zukām). They are produced on account of heat, and those which are produced from cold are called qurārā.

183. Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen*, 140:3762.

This entry clarifies somewhat the material presented in the discussion of κόρυζα above. Two Syriac words for ‘catarrh’ *hurāšā* and *qurārā* exist with opposing senses; namely, the first is defined as ‘hot catarrh’, and the second as ‘cold catarrh’. Two Arabic terms corresponding to these exist in the lexicons as well. According to this entry, the Arabic equivalent of *hurāšā* ‘hot catarrh’ is *baḥūḥa*. Although bar ʿAli’s entry does not give an Arabic equivalent for *qurārā* ‘cold catarrh’, in the entry at 1757:13 the word *al-tabrīd* is given as its equivalent in a definition credited to ‘a manuscript’, which is thus strongly attributable to Ḥunayn. This latter Arabic word refers etymologically to the particular antithermic aetiology of the illness, as does the Syriac. Although it is impossible to argue so with certainty, *al-tabrīd* would appear to be good candidate for a calque promoted by scholars who hoped to transfer Syriac etymological meaning into Arabic.

Although according to the lexicons this Syriac distinction was carried over into Arabic, it appears that Ḥunayn in his Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* preferred to use more general terminology. Unlike *qurārā*, the Syriac equivalent for κόρυζα in the *Aphorisms*, neither word of the pair *al-nazla/al-zukām* refers to the heat or coldness of the congestion. Although the lexicographers attempted to maintain this element of the Syriac terminological apparatus, it does not appear to have found significant employment in the translations.

βήχιον

The Greek word βήξ has fully synonymous and etymologically-interrelated equivalents in Arabic and Syriac, *al-suʿāl* and *šʿālā*, both meaning ‘cough’. Forms

of these words are used to translate all instances of forms of βήξ in all of the versions of the *Aphorisms* under consideration where an equivalent is extant. Notably, this word, like the preceding word βράγχοι, is not present in the early Syriac translation of aphorism iii. 20, either because of the translator's deliberate omission or because a word has dropped out of the text.

A single entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* reflects the univocity of these translations:

مخللا حتى سعال 1997:14

Šʿala in a manuscript, *cold* (suʿāl).

λέπρα

حاهن: برص اسود 945:27

Lêpra, *black leprosy* (baraş aswad).

A form of this word occurs a single time in the *Aphorisms*, in aphorism iii. 20. The Syriac translation gives the term *qalāpitā* as its equivalent, while the fragment of the early Syriac version gives a different word, *garbā*. Ḥunayn in his Arabic version used a five-word explicating translation, *al-ʿilla allatī yataqashsharu minhā al-jild* ‘the disease due to which the skin becomes scaled’. This same translation is also used in Ḥunayn's translations of occurrences of λέπρα in Galen's comment on this aphorism.¹⁸⁴

184. Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, III 60-61. Λέπρα occurs twice in the context of Galen's repeating the disease-lists given in the lemma.

Ullmann notes numerous examples of translations of this Greek word and the related adjective λεπρός.¹⁸⁵ A variety of Arabic equivalents may be found in these examples. The material recorded in the Syriac lexicons is also of significance for the variations observed in the translations, so here I will record Ullmann's examples serially.

In the occurrences of λέπρα in Book Six of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, Ullmann cites three equivalents each from the versions of al-Biṭrīq and Ḥunayn. In all three of these cases the former translates λέπρα with *baraṣ* 'leprosy' while the latter gives *al-illa allatī yataqashsharu ma'hā al-jild* 'the disease due to which the skin becomes scaled'. Although the overlap between Ḥunayn's translations and his translation of λέπρα in the *Aphorisms* is striking, Ullmann's next examples depart from this pattern. In the Arabic translation of the Hippocratic work *On Nutriment*, a form of λέπρα is translated with *al-baraṣ* 'leprosy', the same translation preferred by al-Biṭrīq in the example cited above. In each of two citations from Dioscorides' *Medical Material*, the word λέπρας is translated with the phrase *al-jarab al-mutaqarriḥ* 'ulcerous mange'. Again according to Ullmann, the Arabic translation of Artemidorus' *The Interpretation of Dreams* makes equivalent to the series of three disease-names ψώραν ἢ λέπραν ἢ ἐλέφαντα the two words *al-jarab aw al-baraṣ* 'mange or leprosy'. Finally, an example from Book 10 of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* translates a form of λέπρα with the hendiadys *al-jarab wal-waḍaḥ* 'mange and tetter'.¹⁸⁶

185. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 387-388.

186. See Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 50 for a discussion of variations, including this one, between the translations of Books Six and 10 of *On Simple Drugs*.

Ullmann also records several translation equivalents for words related to λέπρα. For a participle of the verb λεπριάω, λεπριώντων, the translation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* gives *jarab* 'mange'.¹⁸⁷ In another example from the same work, a form of the word λεπρικός is again translated with *jarab* 'mange'.¹⁸⁸ Several translations of the Greek adjective λεπρός also occur in the *Wörterbuch*.¹⁸⁹ In one example from Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six, the simple word λέπρας occurs, followed later in the text by the phrase λεπρούς ὄνυχας. The early Arabic translation of the work attributed to al-Biṭrīq gives for λέπρας *baraṣ* 'leprosy' and for λεπρούς ὄνυχας '*al-baraṣ min al-azfār* 'leprosy of the fingernails'. Ḥunayn's later Arabic version translates λέπρας in a fashion similar to his other translations cited above, giving *al-illa allatī yataqashshar ma hā al-jild*, 'the disease with which the skin becomes scaled'. For λεπρούς ὄνυχας he used *al-azfār allatī tabyadd* 'fingernails which have whitened'.

In Arabic translations of the Gospels, one from Matthew and one from Mark, words derived from *baraṣ* 'leprosy' are used to translate forms of λεπρός. In three citations from the Arabic translation of Dioscorides' *Medical Materials*, four translations of forms of the Greek word are found, each of them employing a different equivalent. Three of these translate the phrase λεπρούς ὄνυχας. Of these three, the first Arabic equivalent cited by Ullmann is *al-taqashshur al-ārid fī al-azfār* 'scaling occurring in the fingernails', the second is *al-tashaqquq al-azfār wa-taqashshuruha* 'the splitting and scaling of the fingernails', and the third is *al-āthār al-bayḍ al-ārid lil-azfār* 'white marks occurring on the fingernails'. In one

187. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 388.

188. *ibid.*

189. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 389.

of these citations, the simple word λέπρα is also found, and is translated into Arabic with *al-jarab al-mutaqarriḥ* ‘ulcerous mange’.¹⁹⁰

Turning to the lexicographical background in Ḥunayn's school, the single brief entry for λέπρα identified by Duval in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* defines the disease as *baraṣ aswad* ‘black leprosy’. This corresponds to a few of the translations, notably al-Biṭrīq's early translation of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six, the translations of the Gospels, and that of Artemidorus' *The Interpretation of Dreams*. When we consider the entries for the two Syriac terms *qalāpitā* and *garba* used in the translations, however, much more significant information regarding the scholarly background lying behind the Arabic translations comes to light. First, this is an entry for *qalāpitā*:

1795:4 قحعل قشور. فكتعبال الحزاز القوابي. مكتعبال وضعل أقول أنه توبال الفولاذ.¹⁹¹ فكتعبال امب ح: هبة من ون؛ حه جعبه وام سنار فكله هلا فعبم ههك فعبما مع سقا القوابي التي تحك وتنقشر. لهد فكتعبال وهكلا ههال القوباء التي تنقشر وتنتشر. حن تقشير البدن القوابي انتشار اللحم ويكون دوى. وجاء به حنين في البهق الذي ينقشر. المروزي الجرب اليابس القوباء المتقشرة. ههه فدا حكتعبال البرص. هاههال. يعيبه حهنا حهههه ههكعباله. لهد فكتعبال بههاله هوسله ونعبم هنعهد مع حهههههاله»

Qlāpē, scales (qushūr). Qalāpitā, itch (al-ḥazāz), tetter (al-qawābī). Qlāptā d-saypa, I say it is the slag of iron (tawbāl al-fūlādh). Qalāpitā according to bar Serošway, that in which a person's skin flakes (*nater bah besreh*), and he scratches much but it is not sufficient, and the skin scales off (*metqalap*) from the scratching, *tetter which itches and scales off (tanqashir)*. Again *qalāpitā* which scales and flakes, *tetter which scales and flakes (tantathiru)*. In a manuscript *the*

190. *Ibid.*

191. Duval: الفولاد.

scaling of the body, tetter, the scaling of the flesh, which is a disease. Hunayn introduced it for tetter which is scaled. (According to) al-Marwazī *dry mange* (al-jarab al-yābis), *flaking tetter*. Paul read for *qalāpiṭā leprosy* (baraṣ). In the Torah, ‘the Lord strikes with torpor and with *qalāpiṭā*’.¹⁹² Again, white, ulcerous *qalāpiṭā* which appears due to tetter.

A short definition of this Syriac word containing relevant material also occurs in bar ‘Ali's *Lexicon*:

فَكَصَدَ الْجَرَابُ الْيَابِسُ أَوْ الْقَوْبَاءُ الْمْتَقَشَّرَةُ وَالْحَزَانُ وَالْعَلَّةُ الَّتِي يَتَقَشَّرُ فِيهَا الْجِلْدُ. إِنَّتَّارَ اللَّحْمِ. دَوَاءً.¹⁹³
Qalāpiṭā, dry mange or flaking tetter, itch, the disease in which the skin flakes off (al-‘illa allatī yataqashshar fīhā al-jild), *scaling of the flesh. A disease.*

An entry for *garbā*, the equivalent given for λέπρα in the fragments of the early Syriac version of the *Aphorisms*, reads as follows:

512:15 ܨܘܕܬܐ ܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ.
 ܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ.
 ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ.
 ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ.
 ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ. ܨܘܕܬܐ ܐܒܪܘܨܐ.

Garbā, leprosy (baraṣ). Garbā, a leper. Garbē, leprosy. Da-greb, lepers, spotting of the body (waḏaḥ al-badan). According to bar Serošway it is white, *spotting*,

192. Deuteronomy 28:22.

193. Gottheil ed., *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, II 349:1

leprosy. (According to) others, whenever the word refers to the leprous individual it is pronounced without aspiration ‘*garbā*’, and when it refers to the ulcers, it is pronounced with aspiration ‘*gar**h**ā*’. It occurs due to the deadness of the living flesh, and it is known to be so, since where the flesh is pricked or dug out, no blood flows out from it, just as it does not flow out from the dead. Some (kinds) of it spread in the body, and some do not. When the body is weak it is spread from place to place, but when it is strong it does not spread, but remains in its place.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the relevance of these two entries for the Greek to Arabic translation movement, it should be noted that each of them appears to refer to a different skin disease. The interesting symptomatological descriptions in Syriac differ clearly from one another. In particular, the disease *qalāpītā* is said to be accompanied by an intense sensory experience in the skin, namely itching, while in the disease *gar**h**ā* the skin is said to have died.

Each one of these three entries contains important information concerning the variety of Arabic equivalents given for Greek words related to λέπρα in the literature surveyed above. Most prominently, Ḥunayn's translation activity is directly referred to in terms which link the entry for *qalāpītā* to the translations of λέπρα most strongly attributed to the translator in the scholarly literature. It appears from this material that the multi-word explicative translations in the *Aphorisms* and the later version of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six were developed in response to the sense of the Syriac word *qalāpītā*. It should also be considered very likely that *qalāpītā* served as Ḥunayn's equivalent for λέπρα in his Syriac translations. This example also serves well as an example of bar ‘Ali's direct reliance upon Ḥunayn's glossary.

The Syriac word *qalāpītā* has a similar etymological sense-development to

that of λέπρα, both words expressing the sense of ‘scaling, flaking’. Ḥunayn's several Arabic definitions in the lexicons attempt to introduce a word related to an Arabic word for this general concept, *al-qishr* ‘scales’, to serve as an equivalent for *qalāpiṭā*. This etymology is not shared by any of the other equivalents discussed above. Also notable in this connection is the absence from the entry on *qalāpiṭā* of the otherwise commonly-used Arabic equivalent *baraṣ* save in a single brief reference to Paul of Aegina. *Baraṣ*, however, figures prominently in bar Bahlul's entry for *garbā*, the equivalent for λέπρα in the early Syriac version.

These distinctions are borne out by the accounts of skin diseases given in Thābit ibn Qurra's *Book of Treasures on the Science of Medicine*. Thābit divides his chapter on leprosy in that work into two parts. In the first part, *Fī al-judhām wal-bahaq al-abyaḍ wal-aswad* ‘On leprosy and white and black tetter’, he first describes the general aetiology of the various melancholic afflictions of the skin. He then goes on to cite Galen to the effect that at a late stage of the skin disease called *al-judhām*, the outer skin flakes off (*taqashshara al-jild al-zāhir*).¹⁹⁴ In a second section, *Fī al-baraṣ* ‘On leprosy’, Thābit gives a different aetiology which relies not on melancholy, but on phlegmatic blood.¹⁹⁵

These sources indicate that a Syriac terminological distinction without an immediately obvious Arabic counterpart faced Ḥunayn. Less careful translators had rendered the Greek λέπρα with the term *baraṣ*. It is even the case that the single unattributed entry for that Greek disease-name in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*

194. Thābit (d. 901) was an important figure in the development of Arabic philosophy and science. G. Sohby ed., *Kitāb al-Dhākhira fī ‘Ilm al-Ṭibb Ta’līf Thābit ibn Qurra*, (Cairo: Government Press, 1928), ١٣٨-١٣٩.

195. *Ibid.*, ١٤٠.

defines the word as such. Yet in both his lexicographical work and in his translations, the least that may be said is that the etymological sense of the Syriac word *qalāpitā* urged upon Ḥunayn the introduction of new Arabic terminology centred around the word *al-qishr* ‘scales’. Furthermore, the symptoms associated with *baraṣ* were not the same as those associated with *qalāpitā*, but rather were more closely associated with a different Syriac disease-name, *garbā*. It is also possible that Thābit ibn Qurra's distinction between *al-baraṣ* and *al-judhām* corresponds to the distinction between these Syriac words. If that is the case, it would mean that Ḥunayn's terminological innovation did not entirely hold, even for the generations of medical authors immediately succeeding him. Yet at the same time, Ḥunayn's explicating translations appear to have given Galenic authority to a description of the symptoms of the disease that would not necessarily have been present in the original Greek of whichever work Thābit consulted.

The various Arabic translations cited above may be divided into four categories. First are those works which translate λέπρα with *al-baraṣ*. These are either very early translations, such as those attributed to al-Biṭrīq, or non-medical works, such as the Gospels and Artemidoros' work on dream-interpretation. Second are those translations which use the multi-word explicating translation *illa allatī yataqashsharu ma hā al-jild* or a slight variation thereof. These examples are drawn from the works most strongly attributed to Ḥunayn, such as the *Aphorisms* and the later version of Book Six of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, and to reiterate are strongly supported by Ḥunayn's entries for *qalāpitā* in the Syriac lexicons.

A third category includes translations which reflect somewhat Ḥunayn's lexicography by including a word related to *al-qishr* without using the identical

explicating phrase. This category comprises some of the translations taken from Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*. These are particularly interesting in that they may give some insight into Ḥunayn's approach to modifying previous translations.¹⁹⁶ A fourth category includes medical works which translate neither with *al-baraṣ* nor with a word related to *al-qishr*. Included here are other translations from Dioscorides and the single example from Book 10 of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*. In most of these texts, the term *al-jarab* 'mange' is used. This word also figures in a definition of *qalāpitā* attributed by bar Bahlul to al-Marwazī. In the example from Book 10 of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, the term *al-waḍaḥ* is employed alongside *al-jarab*.

What should be made of the single example of relevant Greek lexicography that appears in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*? This definition, although unattributed, defines λέπρα with *al-baraṣ*, which as we have seen represents an older stratum of translation when compared with Ḥunayn's work. A potentially important clue may be found in bar Bahlul's entry for *qalāpitā*, where the authority of Paul is cited for the equivalence of that Syriac word and the Arabic *al-baraṣ*. As seen earlier, in Chapter One, material that closely tacks with Pauline definitions may be found without attribution in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*.¹⁹⁷ We may thus presume that Ḥunayn did not write the entry for λέπρα presented here. Given that at present Paul is the only other author besides Ḥunayn for whom there is evidence that bar Bahlul included his definitions without attribution, and given that *al-baraṣ* clearly

196. The original Arabic translation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* is attributed to Iṣṭifān ibn Bāsil, and Ḥunayn is said to have rectified it. See Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 55.

197. See the discussion of ἀποστήματα in unit (1.3.7) above.

represents a stage of the translation movement prior to Ḥunayn, the translator of Paul's *Pragmateia* is the most likely author of the short entry for the Greek word λέπρα.

To sum up this rather long discussion, it may be remarked that parallel developments regarding the translation of λέπρα occurred in the Syriac and Arabic medical traditions. In both the early Syriac and early Arabic translations, terms taken by the later lexicographers to be equivalent both to that Greek word and to one another were used, namely *garbā* and *al-baraṣ*. At some point in the centuries intervening between Sergius and Ḥunayn, the Syriac term *qalāpitā*, a word with a similar etymological sense as λέπρα, came to be preferred as the translation equivalent for that Greek word.

Ḥunayn, wishing perhaps to retain the nuances of the Syriac terminology and at any rate unsatisfied with *al-baraṣ*, attempted to introduce Arabic terminology that likewise agreed with the etymological sense of λέπρα. Although his terminology was not universally adopted, in the generations after Ḥunayn the distinction between these two types of leprosy persisted in various guises. Thus we see the Syriac and Arabic translation traditions undergoing parallel developments. That is to say, a distinction originating in the Syriac tradition was transferred into the Arabic translations in successive stages, with Ḥunayn's work playing a prominent but not ultimately decisive part in the process.

λειχήν/λειχηνικόν

965:24 حصصه قوابي. ج حصصه نيزدك واطا حازاة الصخر صححه جبريل وحنين في هذه النسخة. حصص

حازاة الخيل ا ب ج. حصصه نيزدك القوياء ♦

Likīnios, tetter. In a manuscript *ḥazāzītā d-kepā, lichen of stones*.¹⁹⁸ *Jibrīl and Ḥunayn rectified it in this manuscript. Likên, tetter of horses according to our teacher. Liknês, tetter, tetter*.

966:3 حصصم, دواء القوايي»

Likniqon, the disease 'tetter'.

The Greek word *λειχήνες* occurs once in the *Aphorisms*, in aphorism iii. 20. Both the Syriac translations give *ḥazāzītā* 'ringworm, tetter' as its equivalent, while Ḥunayn's Arabic translation gives *al-qawābī* 'tetter'. Alongside this example, Ullmann notes others, including a text from Galen's *On Simple Drugs Book Six*. There, al-Bīṭrīq employed *al-ḥazāz* to translate the Greek term, while Ḥunayn again translated it with a form of *al-qūbā*.¹⁹⁹

The entries for *λειχήν* and *λειχηνικόν* in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* corroborate Ḥunayn's usage alongside definitions for other senses of these Greek words.²⁰⁰

The entry for the Syriac equivalent does likewise:

737:1 نيزو بلسا اب ح حنهعهه اح و نهه ما حعللسمال جنبلا و حصط القويا السعفة. متزو القوايي. متزو ذو القويا
والحكة والجرب. متزو حزان حكة جرب ذو القويا والحكة. آخر الصغير الالية. هاب اصلا و متزو ذو القويا. هاب
ح حنة السعفة نيزو بلسا. متزو ا اصلا و رحههه اهنههه. هاب و اخنح اصلا و صنلا ككلاسه. هاستلا اخنح اصلا و اسلا

198. Although *al-ḥazāza* does not carry this sense in the dictionaries of Wehr and Freytag, the sense here is clear.

199. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 385.

200. Although several other entries for *λειχήν* and related words are noted in Duval's index, they refer to other senses of the term, so I shall not treat them here.

حصصه سررمال الصغير الأذن*

Hazāziṭā according to bar Serošway, that which occurs on the surface of the outer skin, *tetter* (al-qubā), *ulcers* (al-sa'fa). *Ḥzāzē*, *tettters*. *Ḥzāzā*, *one suffering from tetter, itch, or mange*. *Ḥzāzā*, *ḥzāz*, *ringworm* (ḥazāz), *mange, one suffering from tetter, itch*. Also, *the small, the fat tail of a sheep* (al-ilya). According to Zakariya da-ḥzāz, *one suffering from tetter*. According to bar Serošway al-sa'fa, *tetter* (*ḥazāziṭā*). *Ḥzāz*, this is the place of the smalls of the ears. And there are those who say the place where the fat tail of the sheep is small, and others say that which is on its exterior. *Hazāziṭā*, *the small of the ear*.

It is of some interest, perhaps, that al-Biṭrīq used an Arabic word related etymologically to the Syriac equivalent, while Ḥunayn preferred a word from an entirely different root. This is the case despite the representation of *al-ḥazāz* in definitions of *ḥazāziṭā* attributable to Ḥunayn in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. At least superficially, then, the Arabic translations of λειχῆνες represent a development away from terminological similarity with the Syriac.

ἑξάνθηματα

حصصه سررمال 628:18²⁰¹ مقلها ام هة البثر*

Hêksāntīmaṭā, this is pustules (*ḥemtē*), according to Paul, *pustules* (al-bathr).

201. Duval: ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲏⲓⲙⲁⲧⲁ. Simply reading a *nun* in place of the *yod* gives an exact transcription.

Forms of this Greek word occur twice in the *Aphorisms*. Both Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and the Syriac version translate in the same way each time, the former with *al-buthūr* 'pustules' and the latter with *hemṭē*. These translations thus accord exactly with the entry in bar Bahlul given above. The early Syriac translation of aphorism iii. 20 gives a different word here, *maqāṭā* 'eruptions of the skin'. This word figures prominently in the Syriac translations of ἀπόστημα.²⁰² The entry in bar Bahlul for the Syriac equivalent *hemṭē* provides some additional information of interest:

758:5 يفتل وجدته الحصف. هاب رة سفله ونيو كاجتا. اب فة البثر. هاب حة هة سفله الحصف
وايضاً قروح لم تنضج هنتلا ولا حيدة ❖

Hemṭē, I found it to be 'impetigo'. According to bar Serošway, *hemṭē* occurring on the eyelashes. According to Paul *pustules* (al-bathr). According to bar Serošway *hemṭē*, *impetigo*, and also *ulcers that are not concocted*, ulcers that are not ripe.

Two points of interest stand out regarding this entry. First is the repetition of Paul of Aegina's definition from the Greek entry above, which serves to emphasize again that material attributed to Paul occurs regularly in entries possessed of Syriac head-words. In this case, the Pauline Arabic definitions of the Greek word and its Syriac equivalent are identical with one another.

φύματα

202. See unit (1.3.8).

1513:9 هو محالها ام هة بعقما خراجات»

Pumāṭā according to Paul abscesses (*napqē*), *abscesses* (*khurājāt*).

Forms related to this Greek word occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. Both the translations of it in the Syriac *Aphorisms* and those in Ḥunayn's Arabic version of the work vary in their approaches to rendering it. The more common equivalent of the word in the Syriac version is *napqā* 'abscess', but the closely synonymous word *mapaqtā* also may be found to represent it. Ḥunayn usually gave in its place *khurāj* 'abscess', but sometimes preferred *bathr* 'pustule' instead. In the extant examples of translations of this word in the early Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*, forms of *khurāj* are also employed. The early Syriac version of aphorism iii. 20 gives for φύματα a word with the consonantal skeleton *mg'*, identified by Kessel as an *hapax legomenon*.²⁰³

Ullmann notes a variety of Arabic equivalents for φύμα. Texts cited there from Ḥunayn's translations of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six likewise render φύματα with forms of *khurāj*. The equivalents given in the early Arabic version of that work attributed to al-Biṭrīq differ from those in the early Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*, however, in that they render φύμα with forms of *waram* 'swelling' instead of *khurāj*. An example from the Hippocratic work *On Nutriment* translates φύμα with *bathr*, while another from the Hippocratic *On the Nature of Man* gives for φύματα *khurāj*. Ullmann finally cites two translations from Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*. One of these translates φύματα with *al-khurājāt*, while the other translates that same form with the hendiadys *al-awrām*

203. Kessel, "Sergius ar-Ra'sī", 3.

al-khurājīya ‘protuberant swellings’.²⁰⁴

The definition attributed to Paul of Aegina in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* notes the main equivalents for φύματα in Ḥunayn's translations and the Syriac *Aphorisms*. Somewhat unusually, however, I could find no entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* Syriac that refers specifically to the sense of the main Syriac equivalent for φύματα, *napqā*. However, a few short entries in bar ‘Ali's *Lexicon* do refer to it:

بقما وحما لهما. البثر بقرب الاظفار.²⁰⁵

Napqē da-lwaṭ taprē, pustules (al-bathr) near the fingernails.

بقما. خراجات.²⁰⁶

Napqē, abscesses (khurājāt).

Although Ḥunayn or his students recognized the equivalence between this Syriac word and two of the three Arabic terms mentioned as translations of φύμα in the sources mentioned above, when compared with the lexicographical activity for other Syriac words treated so far in this work, his extant treatment of *napqē* is very scant. The discrepancy is especially striking when the lexicographical material for the secondary equivalent for φύμα, *mapaqta*, is considered.²⁰⁷ This may indicate that Ḥunayn did not use this word often in his Syriac translations.

204. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechische-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 747-748.

205. Gottheil, *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, I 81:10.

206. Gottheil, *Syriac-Arabic Glosses*, I 81:13.

207. These entries are given in the discussion of ἀποστήματα in unit (1.3.7).

Conclusion

In Chapter Two, the absence of well-established Syriac technical equivalents for particular Greek words was shown to pose special challenges for Ḥunayn's Arabic translation technique. Building on this evidence, several examples presented in this chapter show the importance of Syriac lexicography as a scholarly locus for the Ḥunayn's production of Arabic terminology. Often, extensive theoretical discussions in Syriac or broad-ranging excursions into the Arabic lexicon accompany Syriac words used as equivalents for Greek words in the *Aphorisms*. These Greek words, however, may be slightly represented in or absent from the lexicons. This is shown in the discussions of words like σῶμα, γνώμη, λέπρα, and παροξυσμός above.

Parallel developments in Syriac and Arabic translation techniques may be observed when comparing the translations themselves. While it is still quite literal when compared with Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, the later Syriac version appears to be slightly more reader-oriented than does Sergius' version. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* rather represents a movement towards both greater accuracy and greater ease of comprehension when compared with al-Biṭrīq's version.

At the same time, the development of these two languages' translation techniques displays some clear differences. In Chapter Two, I demonstrated the strong distinction between the Arabic and Syriac receptivity for Greek loanwords. In the present chapter, especially in the discussion of aphorism iii. 20, evidence of the progressive Graecization of Syriac vocabulary is observable in the higher number of Greek loanwords in the later Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* as compared with the earlier Syriac version. The later Syriac version

and Ḥunayn's Arabic translation both display a higher degree of sophistication when compared to the earlier examples of their respective traditions. Furthermore, given the background evidence available, both from Ḥunayn's *Risāla* and the material from the lexicons presented here, it is clear that Ḥunayn did not develop his Arabic translation technique in isolation from prior developments in the Syriac tradition.

The evidence presented thus far for Ḥunayn's Arabic version points to a combination of accuracy regarding the sense of the source-text combined with clear terminological influence from the Syriac scholarly background. The most obvious way to account for this is to posit that Ḥunayn produced his Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* as an extension of his Syriac translation of the work. The material presented in this chapter thus specifies and heavily emphasizes the Syriac component of Ḥunayn's Arabic translations.

CHAPTER FOUR

The ‘Abbāsīd-era Syriac and Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms* and their Scholarly Background

In the previous chapter I compared the extant fragments of the early Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* with the translations of the corresponding texts in the broader Syriac and Arabic traditions. In this chapter, following a similar approach, I compare translations taken from the partially surviving early Arabic version of the *Aphorisms* attributed to al-Biṭrīq with the later Arabic version of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and the ‘Abbāsīd-era Syriac rendition of the work. Although the early Arabic version is of inherent interest in many respects, my primary intention in undertaking this comparison is to compare and contrast the techniques used in the Syriac translation with those adopted by Ḥunayn in his Arabic version in the light of the texts of al-Biṭrīq's translation. In doing so, the value of the Syriac *Aphorisms* for the study of the Greek-to-Arabic translation movement will be kept in focus. Because a much larger body of text is available from the early Arabic translation than from the early Syriac version treated in the previous chapter, it has been necessary to make a selection. I have chosen the texts presented below with the aim of discussing questions I perceive to be of interest for the study of these translations and their lexicographical background.

As discussed earlier, in the introduction to his edition of the Syriac *Aphorisms*, Henri Pognon contrasted the styles of the Arabic and Syriac translations contained in the Paris manuscript by describing the Syriac translation

as more literal than Ḥunayn's Arabic version.²⁰⁸ While including the early Syriac version in this type of comparison is difficult because of the paucity and brevity of the surviving fragments, the translations of the lengthiest lemmas of the *Aphorisms* survive from the early Arabic version, therefore allowing for extensive analysis. I have chosen a handful of aphorisms which I have found to be reasonably representative of the variations in style observable in the translations.

Alongside a comparison of the varying styles and levels of sophistication of these translations, several themes and motifs prominent in earlier chapters of this work will be further extended in this one. Although I shall not be able to provide an exhaustive treatment of the lexicographical background for Ḥunayn's versions of these texts, I shall provide comparative studies for several terms of interest. In particular, key advances in translation technique, influential borrowings from Syriac, and terms possessing extensive theoretical treatment in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* will be given special attention.

Aphorism i. 1

(1) Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς, ἡ δὲ πεῖρα σφαλερὴ, ἡ δὲ κρίσις χαλεπή. (2) Δεῖ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐωυτὸν παρέχειν τὰ δέοντα ποιέοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν νοσέοντα καὶ τοὺς παρεόντας καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν.

P.

(1) العمر قصير والصناعة طويلة والزمان حديد والتجربة خطأ والقضاء عسير. (2) ينبغي للطبيب ألا يقتصر على فعل ما ينبغي له أن يفعل دون أن يستعين بالمريض على نفسه وبمن يحضره وبالذين من خارج.

208. Pognon ed., *Une version syriaque*, iv.

Before proceeding to his overview of the Arabic commentaries, Rosenthal made some brief comparisons of the terminology of the three translations presented above. Most of his attention was given to the difference between the translations of the Greek phrase ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς, for which Ḥunayn's Arabic version represents a significant advance in accuracy over al-Biṭrīq's. Rosenthal characterized this as an advance due to the fact that the Arabic *ḥadīd* 'sharp' does not carry the same idiomatic sense of urgency as the Greek ὀξύς does.²¹⁰ This account may be supplemented by remarking that the Syriac *ḥarrip* does carry this idiomatic sense, so the Syriac translation does not suffer from the same awkwardness despite its employing a broadly analogous technique.

The relative obscurity of the second half of the aphorism allows for the description of the varying approaches to handling difficult material observable in these translations. Of the three, Ḥunayn's translation is by far the most complex, and adds the most material. The early Arabic version adds some interpretative elements, but does not explicate to the extent that Ḥunayn's translation does. At the same time, there are some interesting overlaps between the two versions. In translating the verb παρέχειν, for example, both Arabic translators employed the same form of the verb *iqtaṣara* 'to confine oneself, to content oneself', although the contextualized senses of the word are slightly different between the two versions. In contrast, the Syriac version, which of the three follows the source-text most closely in general, preferred to render a much more basic and obvious sense of the Greek verb, translating it *teṭel napšāk (l-ma'bed)* 'give yourself (to doing)'.

Hippocratic aphorism', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 40 (3) (1966).

210. *Ibid.*, 227-228.

Although several of the lexical variations are interesting, the approaches to translating the Greek word κρίσις are of particular importance for the purposes of this thesis. This importance derives from the fact that the Syriac translation of the word *buhrānā* was borrowed into Arabic with the sense of ‘medical crisis’ in certain contexts, but was not used to translate other, more general senses of κρίσις. Here I shall consider the translations of this word along with their scholarly background.

κρίσις/κρίνω

1844:1 منحصه ؤل يحكم

Qrinon, to judge, to judge.

1844:9 منحصه اب ح: هنة واما الحكم

Qrisis according to Bar Serošway, judgment, *judgment*.

As one of the more important motifs of the *Aphorisms*, discussion of the prognostic construct of the crisis in fevers occurs in several places in the work. Forms of the noun κρίσις, the verb κρίνω, and various related words occur numerous times in the work. In all cases, the Syriac version translates these words with a form derived from the root **bhr*, either the noun *buhrānā* ‘crisis’ or the verb *bhar*. Reference to the Syriac summary of Book III of Galen's *On Critical Days* attributed to Sergius of Res Ayna shows that these equivalents were well established long before Ḥunayn's lifetime.²¹¹

211. Eduard Sachau ed., *Inedita Syrica*, (Wien: Verlag der buchhandlung des

Ḥunayn's Arabic translation is less regular. Although the most common equivalent is the noun *al-buḥrān* 'crisis', either singly or, when translating verbs, with accompanying verbs such as *atā* 'to come', there are several exceptions. A handful of examples from the early Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* also exist. The translations in that version tend to be based on forms related to the word *al-faraj* 'relief'. These are often extended by the words *qaḍā'* or *yaqḍī* 'conclude/judge'. For example, in aphorism ii. 23, the verb κρίνεται is translated by the phrase *yaqḍī 'alayhā bil-faraj* 'conclude with relief'.

Several of Ḥunayn's exceptions to these techniques deserve further scrutiny. Perhaps most interesting of these are the translations of the noun κρῖνον in aphorism v. 22. The relevant Greek sentence admits of multiple interpretations, and here Ḥunayn and the translator of the Syriac version have each chosen a different one. The Greek sentence and the two translations run like this:

τούτοισι τὸ θερμὸν φίλιον καὶ κρῖνον, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν πολέμιον καὶ κτεῖνον.

For these, heat is a friend and a crisis, but cold is an enemy and a harm.

S.

لهذه مستنجد فح تسعدا لملسه صسهوا صنتا وه صصهكلما صصهقبا.

For these, heat is a friend, but cold crises are deadly opponents.

H.

فالحار لأصحاب هذه العلل نافع شاف والبارد لهم ضاراً قاتل.

For those suffering from these illnesses, heat is a benefit and a cure, but cold is for them a deadly harm.

Waisenhausen in Halle, 1870), صص-صص, *passim*.

The two translations clearly reflect different readings of the Greek text. Ḥunayn's translation of κρῖνον with *shāf* 'cure' reflects a reading close to that of the modern editions, with κρῖνον referring back to θερμόν. On the other hand, the Syriac text reads κρῖνον as a substantive introducing a new clause, and translates it with *bāḥurē* 'crises'. Furthermore, the Syriac translation renders the words φίλιον and πολέμιον literally, while in Ḥunayn's version they are given a medical interpretation. This example strongly contributes to the argument against Ḥunayn's authorship of the Syriac translation.

Another interesting exception to Ḥunayn's translation of κρίσις with *al-buḥrān* occurs in the aphorism under consideration here, aphorim i. 1. There both Ḥunayn and the early Arabic translator translate κρίσις with *al-qaḍā* 'judgement', while the Syriac translator's choice *buḥrānā* is consistent with his other translations of the term. In aphorism iv. 59 as well, Ḥunayn's translation of the verb κρίνεται with *takūn tanqaḍī* 'conclude' hearkens back to the preference of the older translator and contrasts with the Syriac translator's continued consistency expressed by his translation *metbahrā* 'come to a crisis'.

A further exception occurs in aphorism i. 19. At the end of that text the phrase πρὸ τῶν κρισίων 'before the crisis' is found. Although there is nothing in the text of the aphorism itself to suggest that anything other than the usual medical crisis is intended, Ḥunayn in this place gives *min qabl awqāt al-infiṣāl* 'before the time of separation', while the early Arabic translator gives *qabla an ta'khudhahum al-ḥummā* 'before the fever seizes them'. The Syriac translator again follows his normal technique, translating the phrase with *qḍām buḥrānē* 'before the crises'.

Although it has long been clear that the Arabic word *al-buḥrān* was

borrowed from the Syriac *buḥrānā*,²¹² the examples above show that the borrowing was quite limited in its grammatical scope. At least for Ḥunayn, *al-buḥrān* could only be used as a noun with the limited sense of ‘medical crisis’. For the broader sense of the Greek term κρίσις, as found for example in the first aphorism, the Syriac borrowing could not be expected to be understood as an equivalent.

Furthermore, although *al-buḥrān* could be employed in translations of the verb κρίνω, the term itself was never allowed to exert verbal force. Rather, auxiliary verbs had to be used to support the sense. One might speculate that the inelegance of such constructions led Ḥunayn to prefer the Arabic verbal equivalent *tanqaḍī* in aphorism iv. 59, where the Greek source-text is very concise. These phenomena stand in contrast to the Syriac examples, where *bḥar/buḥrānā* was used to represent all the complex senses of this Greek word. Ullmann's examples for κρίσις taken from the Arabic translation of the Hippocratic *Epidemics* likewise contain both of the main Arabic equivalents. In the first of these, *al-buḥrān* is given, while in the second, *waqt al-inqīḍā'* occurs instead.²¹³

Even in this well-known and broadly accepted example of Syriac influence, close attention to the details of these translations displays a much more nuanced phenomenon wherein the Syriac borrowing is forced to compete with other, better established Arabic usages. The combined circumstances of terminological instability in the Arabic and terminological stability in Syriac clearly did make

212. Glen Cooper, *Galen, de Diebus Decretoriis, from Greek into Arabic* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 18.

213. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 369.

from this root. The sense of the Arabic *tabaḥḥur* is that of learning as deep as the sea, while the Syriac verb may carry the meaning of expertise in a field of knowledge, such as is gained by intense effort and trial. The lexicographer's awareness of this overlap in meaning between the two languages is indicated in the entry at 365:8. Reference to this happenstance etymology could have served to suggest or to justify the borrowing of the Syriac word *buḥrānā* into Arabic.

Although Ḥunayn's use of the Arabic *al-buḥrān* to translate κρίσις is not reflected in the Syriac entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* attributable to the translator, a definition from bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* does contain it:

حوسبل. البحران والمحنة القضا تفتيش.²¹⁴

Buḥrānā, crisis (al-buḥrān), inquiry, judgment (al-qaḍā), discrimination.

Aphorism i. 3

(1) Ἐν τοῖσι γυμναστικοῖσιν αἰ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐεξίαι σφαλεραί, ἦν ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἔωσιν· (2) οὐ γὰρ δύνανται μένειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἀτρεμεῖν· (3) Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεμέουσιν, οὐκέτι δύνανται ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδιδόναι· λείπεται οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον. (4) Τούτων οὖν εἵνεκεν τὴν εὐεξίην λύειν συμφέρει μὴ βραδέως, ἵνα πάλιν ἀρχὴν ἀναθρέμῃσιν λαμβάνη τὸ σῶμα. (5) Μηδὲ τὰς συμπτώσιας ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἄγειν, σφαλερὸν γάρ, ἀλλ' ὁκοίη ἂν ἡ φύσις ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑπομένειν, ἐς τοῦτο ἄγειν. (6) Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ αἰ κενώσεις αἰ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἄγουσαι σφαλεραί· καὶ πάλιν αἰ ἀναλήψεις αἰ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἐοῦσαι σφαλεραί.

214. Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen*, 81:2284.

P.

(1) عند تكشف الصحة القصوى خطأً إن كانت في المنتهى (2) لأنها لا تستطيع أن تثبت على حالها ولا تقيم على غير انتقال، (3) وإذا كان لا بد لها من الانتقال وليس تقدر على أن تنتقل إلى خير مما هي عليه فقد بقي أن تنتقل إلى ما شرّ. (4) من أجل ذلك هو أمثل أن تطلق الصحة بلا إبطاء كيما يبتدىء الجسد بالتربية من ذي قبل. (5) وألا يفرط في التنقص فإن ذلك خطأ ولكن على قدر ما تحتمل طبيعة الذي يفعل ذلك به. (6) قال: وكذلك أيضاً الفرغ إذا بلغ المنتهى خطأ والملاء إذا بلغ المنتهى خطأ.

(1) In stripping, extreme health is mistaken, if it be to the utmost, (2) because it is not possible that it can be established in its state, and does not remain without change. (3) If there is no escape for it from change, and it cannot change to better than that which it currently is, it only remains that it can change to that which is worse. (4) Because of this it is preferable that you disengage health without delay, to the point that the body begins with training as before. (5) Let it not be lax in diminution, for that is a mistake, but rather (let it be done) to the extent that the nature to which it is done can bear. (6) He said: And likewise, again, purging when it reaches the limit is a mistake, and repletion that reaches the limit is a mistake.

S.

(1) حذوا وتعلموا حذوا ولا تملوا. (2) لا تملوا ولا تملوا. (3) حذوا ولا تملوا. (4) حذوا ولا تملوا. (5) حذوا ولا تملوا. (6) حذوا ولا تملوا.

(1) For those who exercise, complete fattening which is in the furthest extreme is unsafe, (2) for it is not possible that they persist in it, nor that they be still. (3)

Then, because they cannot be still, and it is no longer possible to advance to that which is better, it remains therefore that they pass to that which is worse. (4) It is advantageous, therefore, because of this, not slowly to relax the fattening, until the body begins again to receive nourishment, (5) but also not to bring their evacuation to the furthest extreme, for this is unsafe. Instead, to the extent that the body's nature is prepared to endure evacuation, one should bring it as far as that. (6) Likewise, then, both evacuations brought to the furthest extreme are unsafe, and, again, renewed nourishment that is in the furthest extreme is unsafe.

H.

(1) خصب البدن المفرط لأصحاب الرياضة خطر إذا كانوا قد بلغوا منه الغاية القصوى. (2) وذلك أنه لا يمكن أن يثبتوا على حالهم تلك ولا يستقرّوا. (3) ولمّا كانوا لا يستقرّون وليس يمكن أن يزدادوا إصلاحاً، فبقي أن يميلوا إلى حال أردأ. (4) فلذلك ينبغي أن ينقص خصب البدن بلا تأخير كيما يعود البدن فيبتدىء في قبول الغذاء. (5) ولا يبلغ من استفراغه الغاية القصوى فإنّ ذلك خطر لكن بمقدار احتمال طبيعة البدن الذي يقصد إلى استفراغه. (6) وكذلك أيضاً كلّ استفراغ يبلغ فيه الغاية القصوى فهو خطر. وكلّ تغذية أيضاً هي عند الغاية القصوى فهي خطر.

(1) Excessive abundance of body for the people of exercise is dangerous, when they have reached the furthest limit of it. (2) This is because it is not possible that they be stable in that state of theirs, nor that they be established. (3) Because they cannot be established, and it is not possible that they increase in health, it remains for them to tend to a worse state. (4) Because of this it is necessary to decrease abundance of body without delay, to the extent that the body reduces and begins to accept nourishment. (5) But one should not reach the furthest limit in purging it, for that is dangerous, but (purge) only to the extent that the nature of the body that you intend to purge can bear. (6) And likewise, again, all purging that reaches the furthest limit is dangerous, and again, all nourishment that goes to the furthest limit is dangerous.

This aphorism presents a relatively straightforward example of the different translators' approaches to rendering the lengthier prose sections of the *Aphorisms*. Although they display several notable variations in technique, Ḥunayn's translation and the Syriac version accurately communicate the meaning of the source-text. The early Arabic version, however, appears to suffer from a fundamental misconstrual of the Hippocratic author's intended subject of discussion. Despite this, all three display a high degree of consistency.

The two Arabic renditions overlap in some places. For example, in sentence (3), both Arabic translations render the verb λείπεται with the same word, *baqiya* 'it remains'. Ḥunayn's version tends to be much more fluid and concise, and to utilize a much greater variety of grammatical strategies to translate the text. In that same sentence, Ḥunayn used an inner accusative (*an*) *yazdādū iṣlāhā* '(that) they increase in betterment' to translate ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδιδόναι, whereas al-Biṭrīq used a simpler verbal construction (*an*) *tantaqil ilā khayr* '(that) they change for the better' in place of it. Ḥunayn's version both translates ἐπιδιδόναι more literally and uses more elegant Arabic. To the final clause of this sentence, which in the Greek is a simple nominative construction, moreover, Ḥunayn added the verb *yamīlū* 'they tend to', while al-Biṭrīq simply repeated the verb *tantaqil* 'they change'. Although both made additions, Ḥunayn introduced stylistic variation, while al-Biṭrīq's approach employs stylistic repetition.

In considering the Syriac version, elements of the text tend to confirm Pognon's initial judgment that the translation proceeds in a more literalistic way than does Ḥunayn's version. One example of this is found in the translations of the verb ἄγειν in sentence (5). The Syriac version renders both of these in a very literal way with word *naytē* 'to bring', but neither Arabic version provides a

literal translation of the first occurrence, nor any translation at all of the second.

Several terminological notes of interest may be made as well. Most importantly, the early Arabic version's translation of the Greek ἐν τοῖσι γυμναστικοῖσιν with *inda takshīf* 'in stripping' is very obscure. Although this aphorism is only attested in the single Phoenix manuscript of Palladius' *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, some sense can be made of this reading in that the Greek word derives from the word γυμνός 'nude'. If this explanation holds or may be supplemented with other evidence, the word *takshīf* carrying this sense would be a significant new addition to the Arabic lexicon. Whatever the case, this is at best a very vague and unclear rendition of the sense of the aphorism. Ḥunayn's Arabic and the Syriac translation both render the word γυμναστικοῖσιν in a way closer to the mainstream interpretation of the aphorism as reflected in Galen's commentary on the text.²¹⁵

The three translations of εὐεξία may also be fruitfully compared. The interpretation underlying the equivalent in the Syriac translation *mpaṭmuṭā* 'fattening' largely accords with Ḥunayn's rendering *khiṣb al-badan* 'abundance of the body'. Both of these, however, are both less literal and more accurate than the early Arabic version's *al-ṣiḥḥa* 'health', which is simplistic to the point of misconstrual.

The word with the broadest theoretical relevance by far in this aphorism is ἡ φύσις 'nature', which occurs in sentence (5). Here I provide below a study of that term as it occurs in the *Aphorisms* and the Syriac lexicons:

215. Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, I 21-22.

φύσις

1518:9 فصفه أب ح: هنة أهصلا الأَسَّ الجوهر رصفنا وهسما لَ صصلا وحنعا

Pusis according to bar Serošway, essence, *essence*, *substance* (al-jawhar). (According to) Zakariya, spirituality. In a manuscript, the stature of mankind.

1555:13 فصفه حَ صلا هأب ح: هنة الجوهر. فصفه الطبيعة هأهه الجوهر. فصفقما صلا الجوهرِي

Pisis in a manuscript, nature (*kyānā*), and according to bar Serošway, *substance* (al-jawhar). *Pisis*, *nature* (al-ṭabī‘a), and again, *substance*. *Pisisāyā*, naturalness, *substantiality*.

1588:15 فصفه أب ح: هنة أهصلا وحنجر أَسَّ الشيء جوهره

Psis according to bar Serošway, the essence of something, *the essence of something*, *its substance* (jawharuh).

Forms of the word φύσις occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, the early Arabic version, and the Syriac translation all use regular equivalents to translate them. The Syriac version employs *kyānā* ‘nature’, while the two Arabic translations both use forms related to *al-ṭabī‘a* ‘nature, character’.²¹⁶ Ullmann notes examples from other Arabic translations as well. All of these also use forms related to *al-ṭabī‘a* as well, except for two examples

216. Although *al-ṭabī‘a* is usually translated into English with ‘nature’, and is broadly synonymous with that English word, I have sometimes preferred to use ‘character’ to emphasize the differing etymological senses of the various terms treated here.

Galen's *On Simple Drugs* Book Six for which Ḥunayn uses *al-jawhar* 'essence' instead.²¹⁷ For one of these examples, the early Arabic version exists as well, and gives a form of *al-ṭabī'a*. Thus Ḥunayn in this case moved away from what appears to have been a wide consensus preferring *al-ṭabī'a* as the equivalent for φύσις.

The etymological patterns of sense-derivation for these words display some interesting features. The Greek verb φύω, from which φύσις derives, has several senses, including prominently 'to give birth to', 'to grow', and 'to become'. The Syriac *kyānā* is related to the verb *kān* 'to be', and so shares with the Greek term a similar sense-development. The Arabic *al-ṭabī'a*, however, derives from the verb *ṭaba'a* 'to stamp, to impress'. Its sense development is thus closer to that of the English 'character', which derives ultimately from the Greek χαρακτήρ 'impress, stamp'.

This etymological distinction has figured interestingly in at least one modern debate around language reform in the modern Muslim world. The following passage was written in Turkey during the 20th century in response to the official introduction into Turkish of the neologism *doğa* 'nature', derived from *doğmak* 'to be born', as a replacement for *tabiat*, the borrowed Turkish form of *al-ṭabī'a*:

The Western languages have 'nature', which comes from a Latin word meaning birth. According to our belief, however, what is called 'nature' is not born but created, which means that this [word *doğa*] is wrong, conceptually and semantically. We cannot say *doğa*, for *tabiat* was not

217. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 750.

spontaneously born; it was divinely created.²¹⁸

From the material considered here it seems that *al-ṭabīʿa* was the established translation of φύσις from a very early date. However, Ḥunayn was perfectly capable of introducing new lexical approaches in his Arabic translations at least partly in response to etymological congruencies between Greek and Syriac vocabulary, as I have already shown in the discussion of the translations of λέπρα (3.2., iii. 20), for example. Furthermore, as I shall show below, entries for the Syriac equivalent *kyānā* demonstrate that the translators were well aware of Arabic equivalents which share a similar sense-development to the Greek and Syriac words under discussion. Not only, then, has the peculiar Arabic approach to the concept of ‘nature’ resisted change in modern times, the word *al-ṭabīʿa* and its etymological derivation also seems to have proved resilient in the face of two of its most prominent intellectual forebears as well. The only exception to this is the Arabic word *al-jawhar*, which appears roughly to have a similar sense-development to φύσις and *kyānā*.²¹⁹ This usage is the only substantial evidence that Ḥunayn preferred an Arabic usage closer to the Greek and Syriac terms in question.

Entries for the Syriac equivalent *kyānā* in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* provide important context for these translations. They also contain interesting material showing the prominence of Aristotelian logic in the Syriac scholarly background

218. Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 115.

219. This word derives from the Pahlavi *gōhr*, which means ‘essence’ but may also mean ‘bloodline’. It is related to the Sanskrit *gōtrá* ‘clan’.

to the Syriac and Arabic translations of Ḥunayn and his successors:

888:18 صتلا هه وفامر حتلاه هه املاه حفحكلا وصبره الطبيعة الجوهر. صتلا الطبيعة الجوهر الطبع. صتلا
 بالطبيعة.²²⁰ صتلا الطبيعي الجوهر. صتلا الطبيعة. هه امب ومنلا اضم هيا وطرز وكون وخلق. حفصه يقوم يوبخ
 يعظه

Kyānā, that which exists of itself, and is the receptacle of a thing, *nature* (al-*ṭabīʿa*), *essence* (al-*jawhar*). *Kyānā*, *nature*, *essence*, *character*. *Kyānā ʾūt*, *by nature*. *Kyānāyā*, *characteristic*, *essential*. *Kyānāyā*, *characteristicness*. And according to Zakariya *aḵin*, *to form*, *to style*, *to bring into being* (*kawwan*), *or to create*. *Mḵawwen*, *to correct*, *to reprimand*, *to admonish*.

At the end of this entry, a definition of the *ap'el* verb *akin* attributed to the lexicographer Zakariya gives several Arabic equivalents. Among these we find the verb *kawwana* ‘to bring to into being’, the presence of which demonstrates some awareness of the etymological relationship between these Syriac and Arabic words. Despite this, again, Ḥunayn preferred to rely upon the previously-established equivalence between the Greek φύσις and the Arabic *al-ṭabīʿa* rather than to seek a more semantically exact term by resorting to the resources of Syriac.

Another related entry runs as follows:

220. Duval: (*sic*) الطبيعة. For several places in the *Aphorisms* which the Syriac translates with the adverbial form *kyānā ʾūt*, Ḥunayn's Arabic translation reads *bil-ṭabīʿa*, thus making this the best supposition for the otherwise strange collocation in this entry.

Again, because it is an existent, it is separated into four types: The intelligible, the sensible, the general, and the particular. The intelligible is, for example, the angels or the souls. The sensible is, for example, the visible bodies. The universal is, for example, a nature, whatever it is, whether of men or of one of the other species, which occurs to the judgment exercised alone and simply. The wise named these conceptions ‘essence’ (*usiyā*). The particular is, for example, one nature out of all of the natures, or one substance out of all of the species, like Paul or Peter. The wise said of this that it is the vehicle and principle part of the essence. Accompanying and belonging to each nature, whatever it is, are six attributes. 1. That it is not in the thing, but all (of the thing) is in it. 2. That it gives from its name and from its definition all of what is said of (the thing). 3. That it indicates this thing expressly. 4. That it does not have that which the contrary has. 5. That there is not in it lack or excess. 6. That when it is one, at the same time it is. The receptacle of these is that which the contrary has, the common essence, the stature which exists due to it and on account of it, and the essence existing of itself, which is an indication of itself for the engenderedness of the thing. *Nature. Kyānā*, a state of generality that is near to (the state of) being understood in the mind. And in the reckoning of the sense²²¹ of the definition, an individual state that does not accept along with (the others) plural enumeration, nor, analogously, increase.

221. The sense of this is somewhat obscure. The word *haniyuṭā* (translated here ‘sense’) literally means ‘pleasure, sweetness’, which makes little sense in this context. For this reason I have translated according to the evident meaning of the passage.

This entry displays clearly the importance of Aristotelian logic for the terminology of Syriac philosophy. Several elements of the unattributed, encyclopaedic definition strongly resemble discussions found in Aristotle's *Categories*, for example.²²² Thus, the Peripatetic account of the concept of 'nature' colours unavoidably the scholarly background to the Syriac translations of φύσις in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*. In this way, the historical diversity of Greek philosophy appears to collapse into a single Syriac idiom dominated by Attic and Hellenistic understandings of key theoretical concepts.

Finally, it may be remarked that the absence of an analogous Arabic text penned by Ḥunayn or one of his successors, coupled with the strongly independent cast of the Arabic equivalent for φύσις *al-ṭabīʿa*, indicates a certain degree of rupture even at the heart of the translation movement. Of course, Ḥunayn could not have foreseen the extent to which Arabic would come to dominate philosophical discourse at the expense of languages like Syriac over the following centuries. As this process continued, however, the important elements of the endeavour of Greek-to-Arabic translation that were written in Syriac came to be relatively inaccessible to many scholars who sought to use the translations as independent works. Lacking knowledge of Greek, many scholars must have remained generally unaware of the tension between the etymological senses of

222. Several Syriac translations of and commentaries on the *Categories* were performed at various stages between the 6th and 9th centuries. The study of this tradition has received important scholarly attention, notably in Daniel King, *The Earliest Syriac Translation of Aristotle's Categories* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). According to King, Ḥunayn later composed a translation of this work, which is lost.

φύσις and *al-ṭabīʿa* and the implicit challenge represented thereby, for example. Yet even a passing acquaintance with the Syriac versions of Greek philosophical works could have afforded such scholars an opportunity to consider the significance of this terminological variation. At least in some senses, then, the transition from the bi-lingual Syriac-Arabic scholarly culture of Ḥunayn to the monolingual Arabic one of later centuries entailed a significant loss of intellectual and cultural wealth and value.

Aphorism i. 4

(1) Αἱ λεπταὶ καὶ ἀκριβέες δίαται, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι μακροῖσιν αἰεὶ πάθει, καὶ ἐν τοῖσιν ὀξέσιν, οὗ μὴ ἐπιδέχεται, σφαλεραί. (2) καὶ πάλιν αἱ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτότητος ἀφιγμένα δίαται χαλεπαί, (3) καὶ γὰρ καὶ αἱ πληρώσιες αἱ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένα χαλεπαί.

P.

(1) الأطفمة اللطيفة لطافة دقيقة جداً ليست تحتمل لا في الامراض المزمنة ولا في الحادة (2) والاطعمة التي أيضاً على حد اللطافة رديئة (3) مثل أن الملء²²³ الذي على الحد الأقصى رديء يعني الممزوج.

Thin feedings of a thinness seriously thin and established are not borne, neither in chronic illnesses, nor in acute. Again, feedings upon the limit of thinness are

223. The ms. here reads *al-mā'* 'water'. Biesterfeldt corrects to *al-mil'* 'repletion', which is clearly preferable. However, it appears a later scribe added to the end of the aphorism the phrase *ya'ḥn̄ al-mamzūj* 'he means mixed' in response to the copyist's mistake, which then came to be integrated into the manuscript tradition.

harmful, just as fillings which are upon the furthest limit are harmful, meaning mixed.

S.

(1) وهذنا مهتنا هسالتنا: حسقا اوتما حاصسه: هسنتعا اسلا ولا صمصح حهه: (2) وهذنا وهلمه حبعها
حصلا اسنا وهلمهال حصص.

Regimens thin and established, in illnesses of extreme length, and in acute where they are not appropriate; regimens that go unto the furthest limit of thinness harm.

H.

(1) التدبير البالغ في اللطافة عسر مذموم في جميع الأمراض المزمنة لا محالة (2) والتدبير الذي يبلغ فيه الغاية
القصى من اللطافة في الأمراض الحادة إذا لم يحتمله القوة عسر مذموم.

Regimens extreme in thinness are a blameworthy harm in all chronic diseases without exception. Regimens that go to the furthest extreme of thinness in acute diseases, if they do not maintain the patient in strength, are a blameworthy harm.

The Greek text of this aphorism consists of three complete nominal sentences, the latter two compounded into a single sentence. The first sentence describes ‘restricted and rigid’ regimens of feeding as ‘treacherous’ in certain cases. Specifically, in chronic diseases (μακροῖσιν... πάθει) such regimens are called ‘always’ (αἰεὶ) treacherous, while in acute (ὀξείσιν) diseases they are called treacherous ‘where they are not called for’ (οὐ μὴ ἐπιδέχεται). The latter two sentences together make an analogy between regimens that ‘reach’ (ἀφιγμένοι) the states of being ‘extremely thin’ (ἔσχατον λεπτότητος) and ‘extremely full’ (πληρώσιες αἰ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον).

Both Hunayn's Arabic translation and the Syriac version of this aphorism

reflect a significantly different Greek text than that given by modern editors. Most importantly, the third sentence referring to ‘repletion’ (πληρώσεις) is omitted entirely. Notably, a sentence carrying much the same meaning occurs at the end of aphorism i. 3, discussed above. In Ḥunayn's translation, furthermore, the differentiation between the appropriateness of thin regimens for different kinds of diseases is made with two contrasting sentences, rather than a single sentence as in the Greek edition. The translation of the word ‘extreme’ (ἔσχατον) with the phrase ‘the furthest extreme’ (*al-ghāya al-quṣwā*) colours the qualified impermissibility of thin regimens in acute diseases, while in the modern Greek edition the word takes its sense from its opposition to ‘extremely full’ regimens.

The Syriac translation may be read either as employing an extended *casus pendens*, both clauses being predicated by the final word ‘are grievous’ (*‘asqīn*), or alternatively as having suffered the loss of the predicate of the first sentence through scribal error. Importantly, the text follows the same general outline as Ḥunayn's Arabic translation in its omission of the third sentence. Unlike in Ḥunayn's translation, however, the distinction between the appropriateness of thin regimens for chronic and for acute diseases is carried out entirely in the first sentence. In the notes to his French translation of the Syriac translation, Pognon speculates that the Greek manuscript tradition used by the translator likely did not include some parts of the text, in particular καὶ πάλιν and καὶ γὰρ αἱ πληρώσεις.²²⁴

The fact that both of the later translations appear to refer to the same variant of the Greek text would appear at first glance to give evidence that the two works were produced by the same author. However, the subtle but clear differences between the two versions vitiates this line of argumentation to a certain extent. Given that Galen does not discuss the omitted sentence in his commentary on this

224. Pognon ed., *Une version syriaque des Aphorismes*, ii. 4, note 1.

aphorism,²²⁵ it is possible that both Ḥunayn and the author of the Syriac translation each chose to translate in a way reflecting Galen's understanding of the text rather than to provide a more complete text along the lines of those preferred by modern editors.

Regarding the terminology of this aphorism, I shall now consider the scholarly background for the translations of the Greek word *δίαιται* with the translations of that word in the works under consideration here:

δίαιται (-ης)

﴿ ٥٥٩:١٦ ٥٥٩:١٦ ﴾ ٥٥٩:١٦

Diētis, this is regimen (*dubbārā*), regimen (*al-tadbīr*).

Forms of this Greek word and the related verb *διαιτάω* occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. The instances of these words are mostly concentrated in Book One of the work. The Syriac version translates all of these with a form of the word *dubbārā* ‘regimen’ or the related verb *dabbar* ‘to manage’. Both of the Arabic versions are less regular in their approaches. Ḥunayn translated these instances in two distinct ways. In all but two of these cases, he employed forms of the word *al-tadbīr* ‘regimen’ and the related verb *dabbar* ‘to manage’. In some cases, however, he used an alternative word, *al-ghidhā* ‘feeding, nourishment’, for example in aphorism i. 9. In the early Arabic version attributed to al-Biṭrīq, these Greek words are usually translated with forms of *al-aṭ’ima* ‘feeding’, *al-ṭa’ām* ‘food’, and the related verb *aṭ’ama* ‘to give food’. In aphorism i. 16, however, the word *al-tadābīr* ‘regimens’ is employed instead.

225. Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, i. 25-28.

and one day not, or are some time of greater length. (3) But so also is that which is seen afterwards, for example in pleurisy. For if simultaneously accompanying it spittle is seen from the beginning, it is short, but if it is seen at length it is long. (4) And urine also, and faeces, and sweat, when they are seen to accord, they indicate whether the diseases come to crisis with difficulty or with ease, and if they are long or short.

(1) إنَّه يدلُّ على نوائب المرض ونظامه ومرتبته الأمراض أنفسها وأوقات السنة وتزيّد الأدوار بعضها على بعض نائبة (2) كانت في كلِّ يوم أو يوماً ويوماً لا أو في أكثر من ذلك من الزمان والأشياء التي تظهر بعد. (3) ومثال ذلك ما يظهر في أصحاب ذات الجنب فإنَّه إن ظهر النفط فيهم بدياً منذ أوّل المرض كان المرض قصيراً، وإن تأخّر ظهوره كان المرض طويلاً، (4) والبول والبراز والعرق إذا ظهرت بعد فقد تدلُّنا على جودة بحران المرض ورداعته وطول المرض وقصره.

(1) The diseases themselves indicate the paroxysms of the disease and its order and its degree, as do the times of the year and the increase of the periodic exacerbations alternating relative to one another, (2) whether they are each day, or are one day and one day not, or are greater than that in time, as do the things which appear afterwards. (3) An example of that is what appears in sufferers from pleurisy, for if spittle appears in them immediately from the beginning of the disease, the disease is short, but if its appearance is delayed, the disease is long. (4) And urine, faeces, and sweat, when they appear afterwards, may indicate the good or bad quality of the crisis of the disease, and the lengthiness of the disease or its brevity.

Several points of interest may be observed in comparing these translations. In translating ἀτάρ in sentence (3), each of the three versions takes a different approach. Due to the division of the commentary in which it occurs, the early

Arabic translation resumes with ‘Hippocrates said’ followed by a restatement of the subject of the aphorism, thus adding an entire clause to the text. The Syriac interprets ἀτάρ in a relatively strong sense, reading the word as an indication of contrast with the first part of the aphorism, and thus translates it *elā wa-ap* ‘but, however’. Ḥunayn in his Arabic version interpreted this Greek word in its weaker sense, and so passed over it without giving a translation. This is another example both of the more literal approach of the Syriac version compared with Ḥunayn's translation and in general of the fact that the two translations often approach the Greek text in distinct ways.

Similarly, later in the third sentence, the Syriac again adopts a much more literal technique in translating the two verbs βραχύνει ‘it is abbreviated’ and μηκύνει ‘it is prolonged’ when compared with both of the Arabic versions. In the source-text, the subject of these verbs is not stated explicitly. In the Syriac version, the phrases *karyā-y* ‘it is short’ and *nagirtā-y* ‘it is long’ are likewise employed without the subject being made explicit. In both of the Arabic translations, however, the subject *marad* ‘disease’ is introduced to specify the sense. Ḥunayn's uses of the inner accusative, for example in the phrase *kāna al-maradu qaṣīran* ‘the disease is short’, add a certain Arabic stylistic flair that is lacking in al-Biṭrīq's translations here, for example in the latter's corresponding phrase *qaṣura maraḍuh* ‘his disease is short’.

The translations of δύσκριτα and εὔκριτα in sentence (4) are also notable beyond the phenomena I described above in the discussion of κρίσις in the context of aphorism i. 1. Al-Biṭrīq's version adopts a significantly different interpretation of the text in translating these words than do Ḥunayn's translation and the Syriac version. The Greek text proceeds by listing first three types of bodily excretions: οὔρα ‘urine’, ὑποχωρήματα ‘faeces’, and ἰδρῶτες ‘sweat’.

Following these, four qualities of diseases are listed: δύσκριτα ‘having an ill crisis’, εὔκριτα ‘having a good crisis’, βραχέα ‘shortness’, and μακρά ‘length’, which modify τὰ νοσήματα. All seven of these words are simply coordinated by the repeated conjunction καὶ. Following these are the plural participle ἐπιφαινόμενα ‘appearing’, and the plural verb δηλοῖ ‘they show’.

Due to their having the neuter gender, there is no obvious reason to place δύσκριτα and εὔκριτα with either the words preceding or the words following them. That is to say, these two words could equally well be among the things that show, or the things being shown. Al-Biṭrīq evidently considered them to be among the things that show, along with the bodily excretions preceding them in the text. Ḥunayn's translation and the Syriac version, however, both interpret these to be among the things shown by the excretions. In doing so they follow the same interpretation as that adopted by Galen in his commentary on the aphorism.²²⁷ In this case the earlier and later Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms* are distinguished by the fact that Ḥunayn translated according to Galen's interpretations.²²⁸

Whoever was the author of the Syriac version, in this case that text and Ḥunayn's translation are largely in accord regarding their following the authority of Galen. However, even here a certain difference between the two is noticeable. Ḥunayn's Arabic translates δύσκριτα and εὔκριτα more literally than does the Syriac version. The former translation renders these two with *jawda buḥrān* (*al-*

227. Mimura ed., *Tafsīr Jālīnūs*, I 40.

228. For several more examples of Ḥunayn's translation's and the Syriac version's use of Galen in their renditions of the *Aphorisms*, see Overwien, ‘Paradigmatic Translator’, 165-177.

Qaṭastasis and *qtsis* according to the Book of Paradise, fitness, familiarity. In a manuscript, peace or order. *Qtsāsis*, this is a fraternal order.

Forms of κατάστασις and related words occur several times in the *Aphorisms*. The Syriac version of the work takes a largely uniform approach to translating these instances by employing forms of the noun *tukkāsā* ‘arrangement’ for κατάστασις and the related verb *takkes* ‘to arrange’ for the verb καθίστημι. Ḥunayn in his Arabic version regularly adopted two different approaches for translating two different senses which these Greek words carry in the *Aphorisms*. For the sense of ‘order of a fever’, Ḥunayn basically employed the word *al-niẓām* ‘order’. For example, in the aphorism under consideration here, i. 12, this term forms part of the hendiadys *niẓāmiḥ wa-martabatih* ‘(the disease's) order and degree’. This translation may be contrasted with the early Arabic version's rendition *ishkāliḥā* ‘(the diseases') shapes’. In another aphorism, iii. 8, Ḥunayn translated two instances of the word ἀκατάστατος ‘irregular’ with *ghayr muntaẓim* ‘without internal order’ and ‘*ghayr lāẓima l-niẓāmiḥā* ‘without adhering to its order’. Κατάστασις also occurs with the sense of ‘condition of the atmosphere’ in other places in the work; for these, Ḥunayn employed phrases like *ḥālāt al-hawā* ‘states of the air’, as for example in aphorism iii. 15.

The relationship between the standard Syriac equivalent *tukkāsā* and the entries for κατάστασις in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* are of some interest, in that the former word is a slightly modified loan-word itself based on the Greek word τάξις ‘arrangement’. The entries identified by Duval as relevant to κατάστασις for the most part define senses of the Syriac loan-word *qaṭastasis*, rather than senses of the Greek word itself. An important exception to this occurs in the entry at

of the quality of the essence, *arrangement, degree*. *Ṭeksā* is something whose action indicates figuratively something else, and is the rightful completion of the quality of the essence, *arrangement, degree*. *Ṭeksā d-dumestiqun*, *the arrangement of affairs*. In a manuscript and in the Gospel, *wa-nkep wa-mtakkas* ('chaste and orderly'), *one chaste and having virtue*.²³⁰ *Ṭeksē*, *grades, degrees, limits*. *Ṭeksā*, *position, limit, degree, order (niḏām)*. *Ṭeksā biṣā*, *an evil position*. *Mtakksānā* (according to) Zakariya, *one who arranges, one who prepares*. *Mtakkas rāzā* ('the sacrament was received') *I say, it was eaten*. *Ṭakkesiw*, *you ate it*. *Taksistā*, *this is the people of an order*.

In these examples, the presence of Ḥunayn's preferred Arabic equivalent for κατάστασις *al-niḏām* in the entry at 807:1 makes the Syriac lexicography much more strongly representative of the Arabic *Aphorisms* than the Greek lexicography. Again, the important evidence for Ḥunayn's Syriac activity in the entry for κατάστασις at 1691:23 is also the only information relevant to the atmospheric sense of this Greek term in the entries presented here. This again tends to indicate the importance of both Greek and Syriac in Ḥunayn's lexicographical work.

Aphorism i. 13

(1) Γέροντες εὐφορώτατα νηστείην φέρουσι, δεύτερα οἱ καθεστηκότες, ἥκιστα μεираκία, (2) πάντων δὲ μάλιστα παιδία, τούτων δὲ ἦν τύχη αὐτὰ ἐωυτῶν προθυμότερα ἐόντα.

230. I Timothy 3:2.

P.

(1) الشيوخ يحتملون الصوم ويخفّ عليهم ومن بعدهم على الذين انتهى شبابهم فأماً الأحداث فاحتمالهم له يسير
(2) والصبيان أقلّ احتمالاً لذلك ولا سيّما الأكياس منهم لكثرة الحرارة فيهم.

(1) The elderly bear fasting, as it is light upon them, and after them upon those at the limit of youth, and then juveniles, whose bearing of it is slight. (2) Children are the least in bearing that, and especially the most appetitive (*al-akyās*) of them, due to the great heat in them.

S.

(1) هذا له وحاله مصعب بهما. فتكلمت هتلا، أو ساءله. لجهول له حريته. (2) لا حتم له من صده،
له حريته. ومع ذلك له من صده، ولا من صده، ولا من صده.

(1) The elderly very easily bear fasting. The middle aged are second. Youths are less well-able. (2) Children are the least of all, and of these, those who by chance are of greater appetite than others of the same age.

H.

(1) المشائخ أحمل الناس للصوم ومن بعدهم الكهول والشبان أقلّ احتمالاً له (2) وأقلّ الناس احتمالاً للصوم
الصبيان وما كان من الصبيان أقوى شهوة فهو أقلّ احتمالاً له.

(1) The elderly are the best of people to bear fasting, and after them the mature. Youths are less able to bear it. (2) The least able to bear fasting are children, and those children who are strongest of appetite are the least able to bear it.

The translations of this aphorism present a contrast between the Syriac translation on the one hand and the Arabic translations on the other. The Greek text is quite abbreviated. In the first sentence, the verbal phrase *νηστεῖην φέρουσι* 'they bear

fasting' is modified by the comparative εὐφορώτατα 'best able to bear', which describes γέροντες 'the elderly'. The following phrases then compare the ability of people of different ages with this capacity of the elderly without restating any of the elements of the verb phrase. Instead, the adverbs δεύτερα 'second', ἥκιστα 'least', and πάντων δὲ μάλιστα 'least of all' refer the successive subjects back to the statement in the first clause.

The Syriac translation follows this approach closely. The main content of the aphorism is expressed in the phrase *tāb dalilā it msaybrin sawmā* 'very easily bear fasting', which modifies *sāḥē* 'the elderly'. As in the Greek, none of these elements are restated in the remainder of the text; rather, adverbs used as comparatives refer the subjects back to the first statement.

Both of the Arabic translations differ substantially from the Syriac version in their approaches to rendering this aphorism. In each of these texts, a form of the verb *iḥtamala* 'to bear' renders the Greek φέρουσι. Forms of this verb are then restated several times in the text that follows. In the early Arabic version, the verb is restated twice, and in Ḥunayn's version it is restated three times. Al-Biṭrīq restated the noun *al-ṣawm* 'fasting' by means of pronouns like *dhālika*, and Ḥunayn's version departs even further from the Greek original by also repeating *al-ṣawm* itself in the second sentence.

Another example of the Syriac translator's greater concern for rendering literally each word of the Greek original may also be seen in these authors' approaches to translating the Greek τύχη 'by chance' in the second sentence of this aphorism. In fact, neither of the Arabic authors gave an equivalent for this word at all. The Syriac version, however, again translates it literally with *d-geḏṣā* 'by chance'. Although the Arabic translators were not mistaken in regarding τύχη as a relatively insubstantial element of the Greek text, the presence of its

defined in this way: That which does not possess substance of itself, and is not the receptacle of the thing. For it is established that it does not exist of itself, nor does it receive the thing that is separate from the essence, which does exist of itself and does receive the thing of which it is stated to be receptive by definition, as it is so distinguished to be receptive by the judgment. Accident is thus defined in this way: That which is not a kind, nor a type, nor a form, nor a property, and which has its subsistence at all times in another thing. It is then separated into six types: The intelligibles and the sensibles, the generalities and the particulars, and the mutables and the immutables. The intelligibles (are things) like wisdom and ignorance, good and evil, righteousness and sinfulness, and all those things which properly have their existence in the soul. The sensibles (are things) like all that stimulates the five senses, I say the colours, sound, smells, taste and all the varieties of touch. The generalities (are things) like all whiteness and all blackness. The particulars (are things) like the white which is in snow, or the black which is in ink. The mutables (are things) like a fever which is and is separable, or a change of colour due to fear, or the darkening of the Sun. The immutables (are things) like the blackness of a raven or of a Cushite, which are designated by nature, or a scar which is fixed upon the body, which does not change on account of it. *Accidents* (al-‘araḏ).

As King indicates in his glossary, *gedšā* was the Syriac equivalent for the Greek logical term *συμβεβηκός* ‘accident’ from an early stage.²³³ While it clearly relies upon an Aristotelian conceptual framework and has Peripatetic overtones, the details of the entry do not readily appear to match exactly those found in any

233. King, *Earliest Syriac Translation*, 306.

specific work of Aristotle. Furthermore, the presence of phrases like ‘I say’ (*āmar-nā*) indicate that this is an independent composition. Although due to its being unattributed to any author it is possible to attribute its authorship to Ḥunayn, comparison of the style and language to other of his Syriac works would be desirable for making a firm judgment on the question.

Aphorism iii. 1

(1) Αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα τίκτουσι νοσήματα (2) καὶ ἐν τῆσιν ὥρησιν αἱ μεγάλαι μεταλλαγαὶ ἢ ψύξιος ἢ θάλψιος (3) καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ λόγον οὕτως.

S.²³⁴

(1) عهسكفتوه، ورضنا وهنا له لسانه عهسكفتوه صهسكفتوه. (2) عهسكفتوه وهنا عهسكفتوه وهنا عهسكفتوه وهنا عهسكفتوه. (3) عهسكفتوه وهنا عهسكفتوه.

(1) The alterations of the times of the year very often beget diseases, (2) and great variations of cold or heat in the times of the year, (3) and those of the others analogously.

H.

(1) إنَّ انقلاب أوقات السنة ممَّا يعمل في توليد الأمراض خاصَّة، (2) وفي الوقت الواحد منها التغيُّر الشديد في البرد أو في الحرِّ، (3) وكذلك في سائر الحالات على هذا القياس.

234. Due to a lacuna in Houtsma's text of al-Biṭrīq's translation of this aphorism, I have placed the early Arabic translation last.

(1) The alternation of the times of the year is one of the things that especially affects the generation of diseases, (2) and in one of these times severe changes in cold or heat, (3) and likewise for the remaining conditions in an analogous way.

P.

(1) انقلاب الساعات [.....] (2) عن عظم البرد والحرّ (3) وغير ذلك ممّا يجرى مجراه أى انقلاب ساعات الزمان من اجزاء السنة.

(1) The alteration of the hours... (2) from the magnitude of cold, or hot, (3) or others of those that follow the same course (*yajrī majrāhu*), that is, the alteration of the hours of the time of the parts of the year.

The manuscript of the Arabic Palladius ends with aphorism ii. 19. For aphorisms that follow, then, our only source for al-Biṭrīq's translation is the *History* of al-Ya'qūbī, as described in the Introduction. The text of the lemmas as found in Houtsma's edition has suffered some attrition, and they tend to be less reliable than those found in the Arabic Palladius. Despite this, it is still possible to draw interesting conclusions from them regarding the variety of approaches adopted in rendering the *Aphorisms* into Arabic.

When comparing the three versions of aphorism iii. 1 presented above, a picture that should be by now somewhat familiar emerges. Even considering the important lacuna in Houtsma's edition of the *History*, it is clear that al-Biṭrīq's translation of the aphorism suffers from a lack of clarity. The explanation of the sense of the aphorism found at the end of the translation, 'that is, the alteration of the hours of the time of the parts of the year', whether added by the translator, al-Ya'qūbī, or some intermediary scribe, reflects nothing in the original Greek. It appears, however, that its addition was seen as a helpful supplement to the text of

the translation itself.

Although the Syriac translation faithfully renders the Greek aphorism, it also reflects the source-text's quite concise character. This technique may be compared with the more expansive approach adopted by Ḥunayn in his Arabic version. For example, in the first clause of the aphorism, both the Greek and the Syriac version rather straightforwardly state the subject under discussion. First, each gives the subject 'the changes of the seasons' (Αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὥρέων, *šuhlapayhon d-zabnē d-šattā*), then the verb 'beget' (τίκτουσι, *mwalldin*) modified by the adverb 'often' (μάλιστα, *tāb ittirā'it*), and then the object 'diseases' (νοσήματα, *kurhānē*). The word order of the Syriac version thus follows the source-text exactly with barely anything added or removed.

This is not the case in Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, however. There, the single verb τίκτουσι is rendered with a more complex phrase *mimmā ya'mal fī tawlīd (al-amrād)* 'is one of the things that affect the generation (of diseases)'. Furthermore, rather than adopting a similarly straightforward approach to translating μάλιστα to that of the Syriac version, Ḥunayn rendered this word with the adverb *khāṣṣatan* 'especially'. This type of distinction between the two versions is also evident in the translations of τὰ ἄλλα in the final clause. The Syriac version rendered this phrase literally with *hānēn d-šarkā* 'the others', while Ḥunayn explicated, using *fī sār al-hālāt* 'for the remaining conditions'.

Beyond this, the phrase κατὰ λόγον in clause three of the aphorism affords the opportunity to consider the translations of the word λόγος in the context of these translations of the *Aphorisms* and their scholarly background.

λόγος/λόγια/λογισμός

translations and the relevant lexicographical material .

In aphorism ii. 27, the word λόγος occurs in the phrase τοῖσι μὴ κατὰ λόγον κουφίζουσιν ‘those lightnings (of the disease) that are not usual (lit. not according to reason)’. The Syriac translation renders μὴ κατὰ λόγον with *law b-wālītā* ‘not suitable’, while Ḥunayn's Arabic translation gives *bi-khilāf al-qiyās* ‘against reason’. In this case, the two translations differ significantly in their interpretation of the Greek source-text, with Ḥunayn's translation being somewhat more literal than the Syriac version. Two successive entries in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* relevant to *wālītā* read like this:

665:17 ةلا ينبغي يجب حداسبب ةومء

Wālē, to be appropriate (*yanbaghī*), to be necessary (*yajib*), it is incumbent, it is necessary (*zādeq*).

665:18 ةكبابه واجبة. ةكتابه ام سمع كما جاء به في موضع أجد وهو عندي الانفعال بالواجب ةكبابه

ءومء

Wālītā, necessary (*awjaba*). *Wālyā'it* according to Ḥunayn as he introduced in a certain place, better (*ajwad*), and for me it is ‘being done of necessity’. In a manuscript *wālītā*, right (*zedqā*).

What is especially important to note about these entries is the absence of Ḥunayn's translation in aphorism ii. 27 *al-qiyās*. This word is also absent in the lexicography for the second approach to translating λόγος in the Syriac *Aphorisms*. This approach involves *zedqā* ‘necessity’, a word that also figures in both of the above entries for *wālītā*.

Later in the same aphorism discussed above, ii. 27, for example, the

اقارب

Zadiqā, righteous, truthful, righteousness, truthfulness. *Zadiqutā*, truthfulness, righteousness. *Zadiqutā*, this is the excellence of rational will that pursues righteousness, which is fit to struggle against the enemy. *Zadiqutā* is thus said of God, either simply or because He is unmoved in excellence, *righteousness*. *Zaddeqteh*, you behaved righteously in it. According to bar Serošway, *that is, you did it in a righteous way*. *Zaddeqtān*, you purified me. *Zaddeqayn*, purify me. *Ezdaddaq*, to do righteousness. *Zaddeqeh* in a place in the Book of Paradise, 'according to his promise'. *Zaddeq*, this is necessity (*zedqā*), according to that which has been decided to be necessary, *to necessitate* (*awjaba*). *Zedqā*, right, necessary, true. *Zedqātā*, alms. *Zādeq*, it is necessary (*yajib*). *Zedqan*, it is necessary for us, it is right for us. *Zādeq*, this is to be seemly, to be fitting, according to that which is necessary to be said, a decree (*ketbā*), *to be necessary* (*yajib*), *to be appropriate* (*yanbaghī*). *Zaddeq*, this is from righteousness and justice, *they adjudicated, they acted equitably*. *Zādqā*, necessary. *Zedqā*, righteousness, truth. *Zadqan*, we acted righteously. *Zedqan*, our share, our portion. *Zedqē*, close acquaintances.

Buried in this entry, we again find Ḥunayn's general equivalents for λόγος in the *Aphorisms*, *yanbaghī* and *yajib*. Thus far, then, these two Syriac equivalents have been shown to be more or less synonymous with one another. These accord both with certain approaches of Ḥunayn's in his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms* and with Arabic definitions of these words found in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. On the other hand, nothing related to Ḥunayn's third major equivalent for λόγος, *al-qiyās*, occurs in these contexts.

Forms of a third Syriac equivalent for λόγος, *pehmā* 'analogous', occur in

the aphorism under consideration here, iii. 1, and in aphorism iv. 71. In both of these places we find in Ḥunayn's Arabic version a form of *al-qiyās*, which is largely synonymous to this Syriac word. An entry for *peḥmā* in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* reads like this:

1533:7 *يسمى* قال حنين ينتظم على معانٍ شتى فيقع على نظير مثل ندّ. ويقع على قياس بين شيئين ليعلم أيّما أفضل في جملة الأمر وظاهره. ويقع على النسبة وهي قياس بين شيئين متناسبين ليعلم بالحقيقة كم مقدار أحدهما من الآخر. شكل عدل كفو وآخرون نظير*
 من الآخر. شكل عدل كفو وآخرون نظير*

Peḥmā, Ḥunayn said: It is arranged according to six meanings. It is used in place of an equivalent, a like, (or) an equal. It is used for an analogy (qiyās) between two things in order to know which of them is more appropriate for the sum of an affair and its manifestness. It is used for the ratio, which is an analogy (qiyās) between two proportioned things making known the quantity of one to the other in reality. A shape, a balance, a match. (According to) others, an equivalent.

Although I have shown in several places above that the Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* and Ḥunayn's version are very often quite different in terms of the rate and types of variation in their respective translation techniques, the variations in these translations of λόγος are especially striking. The three approaches in the Syriac translation that I have described are all reflected both in Ḥunayn's Arabic translation and in glosses attributable to Ḥunayn in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. This is not the case, however, in the relevant Greek lexicography cited at the beginning of this discussion. Although these entries are important and interesting,²³⁵ they

235. In particular, the entry at 948:10 is very likely a fragment from Ḥunayn's lost glossary.

only reflect Ḥunayn's translation choices in his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms* very partially. This is, again, emphatically not the case for the Syriac lexicography. Thus we may say that the scholarly background to Ḥunayn's Arabic translations of λόγος in the *Aphorisms* give very strong evidence for the translator's use of a Syriac source-text in his production of this version of the Hippocratic work.

Yet, at the same time, these three interpretations of λόγος in the *Aphorisms* do not overlap in the Syriac *Aphorisms* and in Ḥunayn's Arabic version. In all of the cases where the Syriac version uses a form of the equivalent *peḥmā*, Ḥunayn employed the analogous Arabic equivalent *al-qiyās*. Yet in several places in the latter work *al-qiyās* is used where one of the other Syriac techniques (*zedqā* or *b-wālītā*) is used in the Syriac version. Again, these Syriac approaches are clearly distinct both in their meanings and in the approaches Ḥunayn used to carry them over into Arabic, as evidenced by the material in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. As such, while it is very likely that Ḥunayn used a Syriac exemplar at least in some capacity in his Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*, it is almost equally as unlikely that the extant Syriac *Aphorisms* was in fact the Syriac exemplar employed by Ḥunayn. To say this is perforce to say that Ḥunayn was not the author of the extant Syriac translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*.

To conclude this discussion, we may consider the two instances where translations of λόγος are found in al-Biṭrīq's early Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*. In the aphorism directly under discussion here, iii. 1, al-Biṭrīq translated κατὰ λόγον with *yajrī majrāhu* 'following the same course' in the sense of 'analogous'. In aphorism v. 64, he translated παρὰ λόγον 'unusually' with the single word *jiddan* 'seriously'. Neither of these translations are represented anywhere in the lexicographical material presented above, nor do

they resemble any of the translations presented from the other two works. Thus, despite what I believe to be the strong unlikelihood that Ḥunayn was the author of the Syriac *Aphorisms*, the contrast between al-Biṭrīq's translation and the two other translations under consideration is much stronger than that obtaining between the Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* and Ḥunayn's Arabic version. This may be explained at least in part because al-Biṭrīq did not have recourse to the Syriac medical tradition in producing this work, but instead translated directly from Greek to Arabic. The translations of λόγος thus provide clear insight into the part played by Syriac sources in the advancement in Arabic translation technique made by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.

Aphorism v. 64

(1) Γάλα διδόναι κεφαλαλγέουσι κακόν· κακόν δὲ καὶ πυρεταίνουσι καὶ οἷσιν ὑποχόνδρια μετέωρα καὶ διαβορβορῶζοντα, καὶ τοῖσι διψώδεσι· (2) κακόν δὲ καὶ οἷσι χολώδεις αἱ ὑποχωρήσιες ἐν τοῖσιν ὀξέσι πυρετοῖσιν ἐοῦσιν καὶ οἷσιν αἵματος πολλοῦ διαχώρησις γέγονεν· (3) ἀρμόζει δὲ φθινώδεσι μὴ λίην πολλῶ πυρέσσουσιν διδόναι καὶ ἐν πυρετοῖσι μακροῖσι βληχροῖσι, μηδενὸς τῶν προειρημένων σημείων παρεόντος, παρὰ λόγον δὲ ἐκτετηκότες.

E.

(1) أُعْطِ اللَّبْنَ لِمَنْ يَشْتَكِي رَأْسَهُ وَلِمَنْ بِهِ عَطَشٌ (2) وَإِيضاً لِمَنْ بِهِ اخْتِلَافٌ مِنْ مَرَّةٍ صَفْرَاءَ وَحُمَّى حَادَّةٍ وَلِمَنْ اخْتَلَفَ دَمًا كَثِيرًا (3) وَهُوَ مُوَافِقٌ أَنْ يُعْطَى لِمَنْ بِهِ ضَمْرٌ وَقَرَحٌ فِي رِئْتِهِ إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ مَحْمُومًا جَدًّا وَيُعْطَى لِمَنْ كَانَتْ حَمَاهُ لَيْئَةً فَاتِرَةً مَزْمَنَةً مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ يَكُونَ بِهِ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الْعَلَامَاتِ الَّتِي ذَكَرْنَا وَيَكُونُ جَسَدُهُ نَاحِلًا جَدًّا.

(1) Give milk to one who complains of his head, or to one who has sneezes, (2) and again to one who has diarrhoea due to yellow bile and an acute fever, or to

one with extremely bloody diarrhoea. (3) It is appropriate that it be given to one with emaciation and ulceration in his lungs when he is not intensely feverish, and that it be given to one whose fever is gentle, weak, and chronic, without anything of the signs we mentioned, and whose body is seriously thin.

S.

(1) سحاحا حصباءا حصباحتا زعما صعا. صعا وبه وبهت هاللمح واستبج حاعدا. هاللمح وبه اناوهال واببسا مصمتها والكتنه، هوهه حوه، حوتقا هاللمح وبه. (2) صعا وبه هاللمح وحناا ماصهه، هاله حوه، اهدا سبعا. هاللمح وبه اهدا بوها صعاا لهه. (3) نبعه وبه وبهت حصبعتا حلا ولا اهدا استبج حاعدا وهذ²³⁶ طهاعةا بعتاا هومعتاا ص حله فح صبره بچ ابح وبافبر اناجذ. حذ صع روهل وبه حببت حنا.

(1) To give milk to those who suffer pain in the head is bad. It is also bad that it be given to those who suffer from fever, and to those with swelling and rumbling in the places beneath the cartilage of their ribs, and to those who sneeze. (2) It is also bad for those who have bile in their faeces while they have an acute fever, and for those who have very bloody faeces. (3) It is beneficial that it be given to consumptives who do not have a fever that is very great, and in fevers that are long and fine, when there is not anything of what was said previously, except what is fit for the wasting of the body.

H.

(1) اللبن لأصحاب الصداع رديء وهو أيضاً للمحمومين رديء ولمن كانت المواضع التي دون الشراسيف منه مشرفة وفيها قراقر ولمن به عطش (2) ولمن الغالب على برازه المرار ولمن هو في حمى حادة ولمن اختلف دماً

236. Pognon corrects to *حذ* and *اهدا* *استبج* *حاعدا* *وهذ*, but to me this appears unnecessary.

See Pognon ed., *Une version syriaque des Aphorismes*, 39 n. 2.

كثيراً، (3) وينفع أصحاب السِّلِّ إذا لم تكن بهم حمى شديدة جداً ولأصحاب الحمى الطويلة الضعيفة إذا لم يكن معها شيء مما تقدمنا بوصفه وكانت أبدانهم تذوب على غير ما توجبه العلة.

(1) Milk for the sufferers of headache is bad, and it is bad also for the feverish, and for the one whose area below the ribs is elevated and in which are rumblings, and for the one who has sneezes, (2) and for the one in whose faeces yellow bile predominates, and for the one with an acute fever, and for the one with very bloody diarrhoea. (3) But it benefits the sufferers of tuberculosis if they do not have a very severe fever, and the sufferers of long, weak fevers if there does not occur along with these anything of what we described previously, and whose bodies waste without the disease necessitating it.

The first matter which must be remarked upon when considering these translations is the corrupt state of al-Biṭrīq's translation as represented in Houtsma's edition of al-Ya'qūbī's *History*. This is shown by the fact that the entire first part of the aphorism communicates precisely the opposite meaning as that which the Hippocratic author apparently intended; instead of milk being described as harmful for the sufferers of these illnesses, the text enjoins that it be given to them! Furthermore, certain elements of the text have dropped out, notably the mention of a disease of the diaphragm at the end of sentence (1).

Comparing the Syriac version with the Arabic version of Ḥunayn, the stronger adherence to the literal sense of the text of the former may be observed. For example, the two occurrences of *bīš* 'bad' in sentence (1) and the third occurrence at the beginning of sentence (3) mirror the repetition of *κακόν* in the original Greek in these places. This while Ḥunayn in his Arabic version only stated the equivalent *radī'* a single time to stand for all three.

A difference of interpretation in sentence (2) may also be observed amongst

المراق»

Upupularion according to Paul, *the epigastrium* (al-sharāsīf), and in one place *apukidria*, meaning the sides (*gabbē*) below the ribs, and according to bar Serošway, *below the membranes* (taḥt al-marāqq).

233:10 اصهصص;ه; و ص الشراسيف الأحد السرّة وهو باليونانية وهو من مراق البطن»

Aspukndrun (according to) our teacher, *one of the epigastria, the navel. It is in Greek, and it is one of the membranes of the stomach.*

254:6 اصهصص;ما ح: صة هه ل;ا; و هه و;ا;ل ه; و اصصصا ه; و صصا ه; و;ه;لا ه; و صصه ه; هذا الصدر والبطن»

Apukidria (according to) bar Serošway, this is the place of the lungs, the stomach, the liver, the spleen, and the navel, *the breast and the stomach.*

Forms of the word ὑποχόνδριον occur some four times in the *Aphorisms*. In translating these instances, in something of an exception to the usual pattern I have observed over the course of this work, Ḥunayn's Arabic version follows a more regular pattern than does the text of the Syriac *Aphorisms*. In three of the four cases, the Arabic version translates this word with the phrase *mā dūn al-sharāsīf* ‘that which is beneath the rib cartilage’, while in aphorism v. 64 under consideration here, this varies slightly to *al-mawādi‘ allatī dūn al-sharāsīf* ‘the places that are beneath the rib cartilage’. For its part the Syriac version adopts two very different approaches to this term. For the first two examples of ὑποχόνδριον in the *Aphorisms*, which occur in aphorisms iv. 64 and iv. 73, the Greek word is translated with a form of the word *gabbē* ‘sides’, which corresponds with the entry from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* at 81:18 presented above. For the following two examples, a different translation is given, namely *atrāwātā*

da-ṭheyṭ ḥaṣḥusē d-el'ē 'the places that are beneath the cartilage of the ribs'. The sense of the latter translation is almost identical to Ḥunayn's preferred translations of all instances of ὑποχόνδριον in his Arabic version of the *Aphorisms*.

An entry in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* relevant to the Syriac equivalent of ὑποχόνδριον, *gabbē*, reads like this:

445:10 جَبَّالِ الْجَانِبِ هَامِبْ حِي هِنَّةَ حَطَّ حَبَصَا فِيهَا الْخَاصِرَةُ. سَجِيهَ وَ حَمْدُودَهْ أَخَذَ إِلَى جَانِبِهِ»
Gabbā, the side, and according to bar Serošway *gabbā*, for the side he read the hip (al-khāṣira). *Gabbeh*, he says this for (someone's) being brought near, to his side.

This entry's irrelevance to the Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms* is clear. However, further resources regarding the Greek entries may be located in other places in the lexicons. First, an entry for ὑποχόνδριον in bar 'Ali's *Lexicon* reads in the following way:

238. اَهْمَصَبُومِ. اِيْزَا وَاسِيْ سَعَصَهَا وَكَلَّتَا. الشَّرَاشِيْفِ.
Upukundrion. The place below the cartilage of the ribs (*atrā da-ṭheyṭ ḥaṣḥusā d-el'ē*). *The rib cartilage* (al-sharāsīf).

This entry, likely attributable to Ḥunayn by virtue of bar 'Ali's stated reliance upon the translator's glossary, reproduces almost exactly the second of the two Syriac translations of ὑποχόνδριον in the *Aphorisms*. This constitutes evidence that Ḥunayn used this equivalent in his own Syriac translations. Yet again, the

238. Hoffmann ed., *Syrische-arabische Glossen*, 17:368.

Marqāqā according to Ḥunayn, the membranes of the stomach (marāqq al-baṭn). It is called in Greek epigastron. It is divided into three parts, which have many names in Greek. That which is below the rib cartilage (sharāsīf) which is opposite the navel is called upokondrion. As for that which is below the navel up to the pubic region, the middle part of it called upogastrion, and it is also called itron, and in Arabic the abdomen (thunna). As for that which is from its two sides, the left and the right, to the backbone, it is called in Greek qênêon, the meaning of which is 'the empty' (al-khālī), because this part is empty on account of the bowels. In Arabic it is the haunches. That which is below this is divided into three sections. The middle of it is called in Greek êpibêon, and it is also called êpsion, and its sides are called lagunês. In Syriac the middle part is called maḥsānē w-ezbē ('the loins and the genitals'), and its sides are called maḥsānē w-gesē d-maḥsānē ('the loins and the sides of the loins'). In Arabic the middle is called al-āna ('the loins'). And according to bar Serošway *marqāqeh*, this is its membrane. *Marqāqā*, the limbs of the stomach (ghuṣūn al-baṭn). In the Book of Paradise, he reads a single *qop*. A hilt, its hilt, as it is in the Book of Judges.²⁴⁰ In a manuscript, its hilt. Bar Serošway adds, its abdomen, *the membranes, its adipose membranes* (tharbuh).

240. Judges 3:22.

CONCLUSION

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Syriac scholarship and the study of Greek-to-Arabic medical translation

In surveying the material presented in this thesis, it is clear that the relationship obtaining amongst Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Greek, Syriac, and Arabic scholarly works was a complex one. It can only be assumed that small portions of Ḥunayn's Greek lexicographical work survive in the extant Syriac lexicons. However, certain examples presented above clarify the ways in which Greek and Syriac scholarship informed Ḥunayn's Arabic translation work as represented by his version of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*.

The entries and translations of the Greek word αὐτόματον in Chapter One (1.1.3) and the long Arabic entry for ὑποχόνδριον (4., v. 64) both give strong evidence for significant Greek-to-Arabic lexicographical work on the part of Ḥunayn that informed his Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* without any significant Syriac intermediary. Yet, the evidence for the very strong relationship that obtained between Ḥunayn's Syriac and Arabic philological work strongly outweighs these examples. In only a few cases has it proved difficult to discover parallels between Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* on the one hand and entries in the Syriac lexicons on the other. This holds true even in spite of the clear evidence presented throughout this thesis that Ḥunayn was not the author of the extant Syriac *Aphorisms*. This pattern is further strengthened by the existence in several cases of exact or nearly exact agreement between lengthy explicating translations in the Arabic *Aphorisms* and the definitions in the lexicons of Syriac

equivalents of these words.²⁴¹

To repeat, this pattern of agreement between the lexicons and Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* is insufficient for the attribution of the authorship of the Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms* to Ḥunayn, due to the strong pattern of divergent interpretations between the main Arabic and Syriac translations. Rather, the broad terminological agreement between the two translations and the contrasting interpretative and stylistic modes they adopt points to their having been composed by two different authors within the same scholarly milieu. This is consistent with Ḥunayn's account in the *Risāla* regarding his contemporaries' Syriac translations of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*. On this basis I believe it is very likely that the extant Syriac *Aphorisms* was composed by either Job of Edessa or Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ.

This likelihood may be considered disappointing, given that it removes the best hope for the survival of a Syriac translation composed by Ḥunayn. However at the same time it would mean that in the extant translations of the *Aphorisms* we have a very good simulacrum of the state of both the Syriac and Arabic translation traditions prior to Ḥunayn's career. This allows for judgments about Ḥunayn's especial contribution to ʿAbbāsīd-era Greek scholarship to proceed upon quite firm foundations.

241. Examples of this occur in the discussions of κίρσός (2.1.4) and λέπρα (3., iii. 20). The pattern of agreement mentioned has potential for (admittedly very tentative) reconstruction of Ḥunayn's lost Syriac translations in the event of the preparation of digitized versions of the lexicons of bar Bahlul and bar ʿAli.

The characteristics of the various translations

Despite its being much less given to stylistic variation and creative adaptation than Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, the Syriac *Aphorisms* generally gives a reasonably good sense of the text. This is especially true when it is compared with al-Biṭrīq's early Arabic version, which can be quite awkward.²⁴² Again taking this version to represent the state of the art of Syriac medical translation prior to Ḥunayn, it is evident that the tradition by that time had reached what may be described as a tolerable degree of competency.

In contrast, as has been generally recognized for Ḥunayn's Arabic translations, the standard Arabic version of the *Aphorisms* is quite sophisticated. This may be observed both in its reader-oriented presentation of the sense of the Greek original and in its stylistic quality as a work of Arabic literature. On the basis of the evidence presented here, I hold that the high quality of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation owes a great deal to the translator's thorough familiarity with the methods of Syriac translation established by Sergius of Reš 'Aynā and his successors.²⁴³

242. The latter conforms to a pattern of relative inaccuracy and lack of sophistication noted for early Arabic medical and philosophical translation in previous studies. See for example John M. Mattock, 'The early translations from Greek into Arabic: A comparative assessment' in *Symposium Graeco-Arabicum II* (Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner), 102, as well as Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen*, 47-48.

243. A somewhat similar argument was put forward by Henri Hugonnard-Roche on the basis of a few examples in his article 'L'intermédiaire syriaque', 198-200,

At the same time, however, this does not mean that Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms* was in any sense a mechanical reproduction of his lost Syriac translation of the work. As may be seen for example in the discussion of the translations of ἄσθμα in Chapter One (1.2.10), there is evidence that Greek-to-Arabic and Syriac-to-Arabic lexicography were both involved in the production of Ḥunayn's translations. This points to a tri-lingual translation process that saw Ḥunayn first translate the Greek original into Syriac, and then use both the original and the Syriac translation in the production of his Arabic version.

Other evidence drawn from the lexicography and the comparison of the Syriac and Arabic versions also emphasizes the importance of Ḥunayn's knowledge of Arabic for the quality of his translations. Even in cases of clear Syriac influence such as the borrowing of the word *buhṛān* 'crisis' discussed in the treatment of κρίσις (4., i. 1), the exigency of clearly communicating the sense of the Greek original often prompted Ḥunayn to vary his approach or to rely on precedents established earlier in the Arabic medical tradition. In many places in the entries collected by bar Bahlul, furthermore, Ḥunayn displays a deep knowledge of the possibilities afforded by the Arabic lexicon.

In other examples, too, we see the limits of the influence of Syriac idiom on the Arabic translations. In the long entry for the Syriac word *pagrā* found in the discussion of the translations of σῶμα (3.1., ii. 9), for example, the non-existence of an exactly corresponding Arabic word prompted one of the lexicographers to suggest that the Syriac word should be taken over into Arabic. However, this borrowing does not appear to have been influential. Similarly in the discussion of κυνάγχη (3.2, iii. 20), there is evidence for an attempt at transferring the specific

which is cited in the Introduction.

sense of the Syriac terminology into Arabic by means of calque translation. This adds a layer of complexity to an already extensive set of Arabic equivalents in the study of the lexicography, but again it does not appear to have been influential in the texts of the translations.

This evidence thus shows conclusively and in detail that the sophistication of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation techniques owed a great deal both to his own Syriac scholarship and that of his predecessors. Although the fact does not diminish the importance and value of Ḥunayn's Arabic scholarship, the complex interaction of Greek, Syriac, and Arabic in the scholarly background to his translations contrasts markedly with the simpler Greek-to-Arabic paradigm apparently underlying al-Biṭrīq's translation of the *Aphorisms*.²⁴⁴ Perhaps somewhat counterintuitively, the existence of some form of a Syriac intermediary appears to have increased rather than to have decreased the quality of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*.

Evidence of direct Syriac influence upon Ḥunayn's Arabic translations

This statement regarding the character of Syriac influence on the early Arabic translations of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* may lead us to a broader consideration of the implications of the evidence presented herein. In several cases, such as for example the translations of παροξυσμός (3.2., iii. 19) and λέπρα (3.2., iii. 20), there is clear evidence that variations both in the general idiom and the specific medical terminology of Syriac came to be expressed in Ḥunayn's Arabic

244. That is, at least as far as the preface to the Arabic Palladius may be trusted, where it is stated that the work was translated 'from Greek into Arabic'.

translation of the *Aphorisms*. If one were to read Ḥunayn's Arabic translation alongside the Greek original without reference to the Syriac translation, these variations would appear to be unexplainable anomalies. Furthermore, it is reasonable to expect that Syriac idiom likewise came to be expressed in other Arabic compositions of Ḥunayn's. This is so, since it is to be assumed that an even stronger relationship obtained between Ḥunayn's own Syriac works and his Arabic ones than that which I have shown to exist between the Arabic *Aphorisms* and the Syriac version now extant.

Perhaps more encouragingly, we may also expect that many of Ḥunayn's Arabic translations have a similar relationship to the Syriac lexicons of bar Bahlul and bar 'Ali as does his Arabic *Aphorisms*. Some understanding of Syriac medical and philosophical terminology is necessary for accessing this material. Yet as I have shown throughout the present work, interesting and at times enlightening discussions of Greek, Syriac, and Arabic terminology may be found in these lexicons. The foregoing research thus specifies the immense value of these lexicons as tools for the study of the Greek-to-Arabic translation movement.

Implications for Arabic translations beyond the field of medicine

Although medicine and philosophy were certainly distinct disciplines for Greek, Syriac, and Arabic authors, at the same time the links between the two subjects were very strong. Even at the terminological level, the two fields were profoundly interwoven. The deep influence of Aristotelian terminology on the Syriac medical vocabulary shown in bar Bahlul's entries for *kyānā* (4., i. 3), and *gedšā* (4., i. 13) points to an interesting phenomenon whereby, in a sense, the long history of Greek thought comes to be compressed into a single idiom. The Hippocratic

author's τύχη and the Aristotelian συμβεβηκός vary quite significantly both in tone and in conceptual weight, yet it is impossible to escape the impression that the two have been conflated in the Syriac translation of τύχη with *gedšā* in aphorism i. 13.

In this respect the study of Arabic medicine shares certain problems with that of Arabic philosophy considered more broadly. The types of variations in translation I have treated throughout this thesis pose similar or even greater problems for the latter study. As Gutas writes in his introduction to the study of Avicenna's philosophical works,

By the fourth/tenth century... an Arabic speaking intellectual had to contend with three separate levels of Arabic: native and literary usage... the usage of the Islamic disciplines, and the usage of the translations, itself not uniform but varying according to different periods and complexes of translations.²⁴⁵

The evidence presented in this thesis contributes to the process of delineating the types of effects produced by the interaction of Syriac with Arabic in one of these complexes of translation, the medical translations of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. In doing so, it shows obliquely the types of benefit that may be expected to derive from the study of extant Syriac sources for other such complexes as well. In particular, the detailed study of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* should provide significant insight into the philosophical translations of Ḥunayn and his successors in much the same way as I have shown it to do in regard to Ḥunayn's medical translations. Although the

245. Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 304.

specific ways in which Syriac came to influence certain other bodies of Arabic translation beyond this one will differ according to context, the types of relationships I have observed herein I hope will prove to be useful models.

Syriac scholarship in the social and intellectual history of Islamicate societies

These findings are also of importance for areas of research beyond the relationship between Syriac and Arabic translations of Greek texts. The examples of longer entries I have provided above point to the value of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* as a window into the intellectual life of Ḥunayn and his successors. This is especially true in entries for words like *hešokā* (1.3.14) and *ā'ar* (2.3.1), which display a certain tension between theological and philosophical conceptions. These entries along with many others in the *Lexicon* that I have not treated in the present work provide valuable material for the study of Syriac philosophy.

Other material cited herein from the Syriac lexicons is of importance for the history of Greek-to-Arabic translation without particular reference to Syriac exemplars. Most prominently, there is significant evidence against the traditional ascription to Ḥunayn of the Arabic translation of Paul of Aegina's *Pragmateia*. This evidence is found primarily in the discussion of τέτανος (2.2.6). There, an entry from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* very likely written by Ḥunayn refers to the translator as someone other than himself, and in other entries the later compilers bar Bahlul and bar 'Ali explicitly state that Ḥunayn did not use an Arabic equivalent for τέτανος, *al-kuzāz*, that occurs frequently in the Arabic version of the *Pragmateia*. Furthermore, in other places it appears that Pauline material appears in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* without attribution. This may be observed for example in the discussion of the translations of ἀπόστημα (1.3.8).

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the relationships of these findings to debates concerning the broader social and cultural history of Arabic and Syriac intellectual life. Regarding the former, an ongoing debate concerning the character of the impulse that drove the classical Arabic engagement with Greek philosophy and science has tended to divide into two camps. One of these, centred around the work of George Saliba, has tended to focus on the interactions between Greeks and Arabs in the late Umayyad caliphate, when certain Byzantine administrative literature came to be rendered into Arabic.²⁴⁶ The other, whose position has been articulated forcefully by Dimitri Gutas, favours a later date for the beginnings of serious engagement with Greek literature on the part of Arabic speakers. Gutas argues that rationalism and scientific inquiry played a key part in early 'Abbāsīd political propaganda, and that political dynamics should be considered the fundamental impulse behind the institutionalization of the Arabic sciences.²⁴⁷

Certain material in this thesis arguably supports each of these perspectives. For example, the very existence in any form of an early Arabic translation of the rather obscure Alexandrian physician Palladius' *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, performed directly from Greek into Arabic, would seem to support at least to a certain extent the idea of an early, western stratum of translation. Furthermore, the clear evidence against Ḥunayn's authorship of the Arabic translation of Paul's *Pragmateia* discussed above is accompanied by certain examples of convergences between the Greek-Syriac-Arabic lexicography attributed to Paul in

246. Saliba, *Islamic Science*, *passim*.

247. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 29.

bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* and al-Biṭrīq's early Arabic version of the work.²⁴⁸ These convergences perhaps suggest a heavier reliance on late-Hellenic Alexandrian works in the early period of the translation movement. On the other hand, the definite inferiority of al-Biṭrīq's translations compared with Ḥunayn's tends to amplify somewhat the nuances of Gutas' position.

Gutas' work has also figured prominently in debates concerning the character of the Syriac contribution to the establishment and development of Arabic philosophy and the relative merits of these two traditions considered separately from one another. Neatly summarized in Siam Bhayro and Sebastian Brock's article 'The Syriac Galen Palimpsest and the Role of Syriac in the Transmission of Greek Medicine in the Orient',²⁴⁹ this discussion has likewise seen different voices adopt two opposing perspectives. Gutas' position, as characterized by Bhayro and Brock, has been decisively to favour the work of the 'Abbāsīd-era Greek-to-Arabic translation movement over that of earlier exponents such as Sergius of Reš 'Aynā. Whatever their quality and importance, from this perspective it is possible to view the 'Abbāsīd-era Syriac medical works of Ḥunayn and others as mere extensions of the same processes that underlay the Greek-to-Arabic translation movement, and thus to relegate the Syriac element to the background of the historical account.²⁵⁰ In countering this view, Bhayro and

248. Notably in the discussions of τέτανος (2.2.6), again, as well as those of λέπρα (3, iii. 20), κίνδυνος (2.1.4), ἀποπληξία (2.2.2), and φρενός (2.2.8).

249. Siam Bhayro and Sebastian Brock, 'The Syriac Galen Palimpsest and the Role of Syriac in the Transmission of Greek Medicine in the Orient', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 89(1) 2013.

250. *Ibid.*, 41.

Brock point to the inchoate scholarly understanding of much of the Syriac medical tradition while again emphasizing the independent value Ḥunayn accords to his Syriac translations in the *Risāla*.²⁵¹

Although the somewhat narrow focus of the material presented in this thesis makes difficult the drawing of sweeping conclusions, it may be said that the evidence presented herein tends to favour the latter account of Bhayro and Brock. This may be seen first of all in the varying quality of the Syriac and Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms* that directly preceded Ḥunayn's career, represented above by the Syriac *Aphorisms* and al-Biṭrīq's early Arabic translation. Although neither of these translations reaches the standard of Ḥunayn's nuanced Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*, the Syriac *Aphorisms* is also very much superior to al-Biṭrīq's version. This suggests that the Syriac translation tradition, in its development between Sergius' career and the early years of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, had much more to contribute to Ḥunayn's project than did the nascent Arabic tradition of the time.

Again assuming that the extant Syriac *Aphorisms* is not the work of Ḥunayn, the comparisons in Chapter Three that show development in Syriac translation technique take on greater importance. In the discussions of words like σῶμα (3.1., ii. 9) , γνώμη (3.2., ii. 6), and λέπρα (3.2., iii. 20) it appears that the later Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* is more precise than the earlier version found in the Syriac *Epidemics*. Furthermore, in the discussions of σῶμα and λέπρα, I presented strong evidence from bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* that these specific developments in Syriac translation technique had implications for the Arabic translation techniques of Ḥunayn and his school. Even if these developments

251. *Ibid.*, 42.

were not as dramatic as the advances in translation technique associated with Ḥunayn's work, they still represent important contributions on the part of the medical translation tradition initiated by Sergius to Arabic medical translation.

Both of these lines of argumentation support Bhayro and Brock's call for the addition of the word 'Syriac' to the usual phrase 'Greek-to-Arabic translation movement'. Furthermore, this evidence sits alongside numerous examples of less individual import that demonstrate that Ḥunayn's Syriac lexicography was a very important locus for the establishment of the Arabic terminology the translator used in his rendering of works like the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*. Yet in this way to consider Ḥunayn's translation techniques without reference to their broader historical context is to enter significantly murkier waters.

Even in the absence of Ḥunayn's own Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms*, it is possible with the aid of bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* to observe some of the ways in which Ḥunayn's work must have differed from the extant Syriac version. In the discussion of the scholarly background to the translations of the Greek word *κατάστασις* in the *Aphorisms* (4., i. 12), I observed the Syriac translation to render this word in an entirely regular fashion, whereas Ḥunayn used different Arabic equivalents for the term according to context. In particular, the use of *κατάστασις* with reference to the atmosphere prompted Ḥunayn to adopt a dramatically different approach. In one of bar Bahlul's entries for this Greek word, a definition of *κατάστασις* attributable to Ḥunayn provides in Syriac an atmospheric sense broadly analogous to that Ḥunayn used in his Arabic translation. Given the strong evidence that Ḥunayn used a Syriac version in preparing his Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*, it is quite likely that he employed this or a similar Syriac phrase in his Syriac version.

It seems reasonable to suggest that Ḥunayn's greater attention to detail as

manifested in his Arabic translations should also have figured in his Syriac translations. This kind of phenomenon points away from the influence of the tradition of Sergius upon Ḥunayn's translations, and tends to lend weight to the otherwise polemical remarks in the *Risāla* concerning Ḥunayn's fellow translators into Syriac. Furthermore, as I mentioned in the Introduction, there is important evidence that Ḥunayn's trial at the court of al-Mutawakkil represents a signal break between the Syriac court physicians and the translator.

For these reasons, I would suggest that personality was a key factor in these historical developments alongside language and religion, and that recognition of this may help the organization of historical research. This may be expressed in the following way: Prior to the accession of the 'Abbāsids, there existed a Sergian tradition of Greek-Syriac medical translation. This tradition continued to be pre-eminent in eastern Mesopotamia up to the time of Ḥunayn. Although Ḥunayn originally undertook his medical translations as an extension unto Arabic of this Syriac tradition, the historian should judge his translations as the beginning of a distinct 'Ḥunaynī' tradition of translation.²⁵² This tradition in effect, if not in intent, used Syriac as an intermediary between Greek and Arabic.

Effectively, the two debates concerning Arabic and Syriac that I have discussed each reflects the same fundamental paradox in the writing of history. Any event or complex of events may be approached by considering the ways in which that event displays continuity with the historical events that preceded it. However, at the same time no historical phenomenon may be reduced to a

252. Although elements of this account should hold beyond the field of medicine, it should be remembered that the situation in a discipline like philosophy was a good deal more complex.

mechanical reproduction of its material causes. That is to say, every historical event is, in some sense, new and irreducibly unique.

The Syriac medical literature practiced by Ḥunayn's contemporaries was advanced enough to be mistaken for the work of the famous translator. Yet Ḥunayn did not content himself with reference to these standards of Syriac translation. Rather, he consistently strove to bring the older Greek and Syriac intellectual traditions into contact with the newly emergent standards of Arabic literature. It thus appears that the standards, styles, and referents of Arabic literature considered as a whole represent an important element of the new in the Greek-Syriac-Arabic translation movement as represented by Ḥunayn.

Despite this, it is clear that the findings I have presented strongly emphasize the importance of what might be called the broader Aramaic culture of translation. As is generally well-known, many of the central works of Aramaic literature were translations, the main example of this in Syriac being of course the numerous detailed translations of the Bible.²⁵³ Ḥunayn's extensive employment of Syriac sources in his translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* strongly emphasizes the importance of this long tradition for the Arabic translations. This highlights the kinds of organic processes that influenced Greek-to-Arabic translation alongside the more intentional institutional efforts emphasized by Gutas. In this reading, the political interests of the 'Abbāsīd elites provided the impetus for sustained contact and competition between the Syriac and Arabic intellectual traditions, each of which however had its own life apart from the

253. Brock relies extensively on this literature in his study of the Syriac *Aphorisms* 'Syriac Background', *passim*. For a more detailed exposition, see *idem.*, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006).

machinations of princes.

While it is impossible to disregard the importance of religious and political management for the translation movement, the integrity of the various intellectual traditions that in effect served as its material cannot be ignored either. By dividing this history into two, the identity and contributions of the Sergian Graeco-Syriac tradition on the one hand and the Ḥunaynī Graeco/Syriac-Arabic tradition on the other may be more easily distinguished. Given their quite different historical, social, and political contexts and aims, it makes sense to study these two as discrete yet related phenomena. This may be accomplished without denigrating the intellectual value or historical importance of either one.

In sum, the figure of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq represents the point of confluence between two traditions, that of ancient Aramaic and that of blossoming Arabic. No matter the various translators' knowledge of Greek sources, and no matter the desire of the 'Abbāsīd intellectual elites to see works of classical Greek literature rendered both elegantly and accurately into Arabic, it was ultimately by recourse to the praxis of translation maintained in the Syriac tradition that a satisfactory Arabic translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* was performed. Certainly the extent to which this characterizes Ḥunayn's other translations and the broader work of Greek-to-Arabic translation will admit of further specification. However, the evidence I have presented in this thesis clearly demonstrates the great potential of Syriac sources for enriching scholarly understanding of both the details and the general character of these profoundly important historical subjects.

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APPENDIX

An alphabetized version of Duval's Greek index to bar Bahlul's *Syriac Lexicon*

As discussed at the beginning of Chapter One of this thesis, Rubens Duval, the editor of bar Bahlul's *Syriac Lexicon*, prepared an extensive index of Greek terms that he had identified as present in the latter work. However, this index has until now remained ordered according to the terms' column and line numbers rather than alphabetically, making it very difficult to consult systematically.

The following represents an alphabetically-ordered list of the Greek and Latin terms identified by Duval as present in bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. Although I provide it here with the intention of facilitating reference to the *Lexicon* for all interested scholars, I hasten to add that it should not be taken to replace Duval's index entirely. The original index includes important references that I have not included in this list. Furthermore, in numerous cases several Greek terms occur in the context of thematically-ordered entries, as may be seen in the entry for the word *marqāqā* in the discussion of ὑποχόνδριον at the end of Chapter Four above. This and like phenomena are emphasized by Duval's approach but suppressed here. Thus cross-reference between this list and Duval's index will often prove beneficial.

Finally, another slight problem in the original edition may be noted. For the initial pages of the sections in the *Lexicon* for the letters *ālep* to *pē*, the line-numbers given in Duval's index differ from those added in the Philo Press edition due to the editor's including the lines occupied by the section titles in his count. This approach was not adopted, however, in the Greek index for the letters

following *pē* nor in any of the other indices. For this reason, the references in the index to columns 5, 6, 349, 350, 441, 442, 525, 526, 599, 600, 663, 664, 671, 672, 708, 709, 783, 784, 833, 834, 858, 859, 931, 932, 985, 986, 1207, 1208, 1291, 1292, 1471, and 1472 will differ from the Philo edition's line numbering.

Greek Words

A

- ἀάατος 106:23
- ἄατον 106:23
- ἄβατος 10:13
- ἄββᾶς 18:7
- ἄβέλτερος 10:15
- ἄβῆς 15:25
- ἄβιληνή 15:4
- ἄβραμῖς (=ἄγνος, τὸ δένδρον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ) 20:3-4
- ἄβραμῖς (ἰχθύς) 20:3-4
- ἄβροτόνινον 20:19
- ἄβρότονον 20:21-24, 422:27, 594:8
 - κεκαυμένον 20:21-24
- ἄβρύνων 20:17
- ἄβυσσος 14:19, 160:17
- ἀγαθά 22:26
- ἀγαθός 22:27, 33:17
- ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος 26:17
- ἀγαθοῦ 24:8
- ἀγαθυνεῖς 22:22
- ἀγαθυνθήσεται 33:19
- ἀγάθων 33:16
- ἀγαλλιᾶσθε 22:11
- ἀγάλλοχον 22:3, 28:25

ἀγαλιάσομαι 22:9
 ἀγάπη 26:20, 30:24, 156:12
 ἀγαπητός 23:11, 31:1
 ἀγαρικόν 22:16, 32:16, 445:3
 ἀγαστός 23:1
 ἀγγείδιον? 198:11
 ἀγγελία 198:15
 ἄγγελος 23:12, 198:12
 ἀγένητος 30:16
 ἀγέρωχος 22:28
 ἀγή (ή)? 33:15
 ἀγήρατον 27:15
 ἀγήρατος (λίθος) 27:12, 864:14
 ἄγιον ὠνεῦμα 27:10
 ἄγιος 7:8, 26:19, 28:4
 ἀγιώτατος 28:2
 ἀγκύλη 145:24?, 276:8, 851:1
 ἀγκύλιον 275:21
 ἀγκύλωσις 214:3
 ἀγκών 273:16
 ἀγλαοφῶτις 26:4, 29:10-12,13
 ἄγλωσσος 29:7
 ἄγνοια 28:6, 30:6,7, cf. 201:24, 203:9
 ἄγνος 27:25, 30:12, 948:18
 ἀγορά 25:14
 ἀγρία ἐλαία 22:20, 23:25-26, 32:20
 ἀγρία κάρναβις 32:12, cf. κάρναβις
 ἀγρία κνίκος 22:13, 32:24-25
 ἀγρία κράμβη 22:18, 32:14?, cf. κράμβη ἀγρία
 ἀγριορίγανος 32:21
 ἄγριος [ἐρέβινθος] 26:12, 32:11

ἄγριος (τόπος) 32:10, 51:7
 ἄγριος σίκυς 33:7, 200:1-2, 518:5
 Ἀγρίππας 33:5
 ἄγρός 25:24
 ἄγρωστις 28:12
 ἄγρωστις ἄλλα ἐν Παρνασσῶ 31:24
 ἀγύρτης 25:15
 ἀγχίλωπα cf. ἀγχίλωψ
 ἀγχίλωπας cf. ἀγχίλωψ
 ἀγχίλωψ 211:2, 6, 253:24, 606:8
 ἄγχουσα 126:22-26, 202:25, 210:22
 ἐτέρα 126:22-26, 202:25, 210:22
 τρίτη 126:22-26, 202:25, 210:22
 ἀγωγάς 24:12-20
 ἀγωγή 24:12-20
 ἀγωγός 24:12-20
 ἀγών 24:25
 ἀγωνιστής 25:1
 ἀδαμάντικος (λίθος) 39:19-22
 ἀδαμαντικός (λίθος) 33:28, 39:23, 297:3-4?, 7, 331:27
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